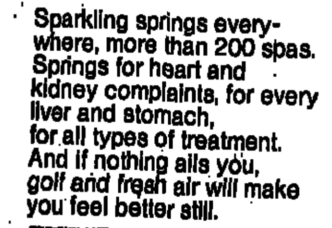
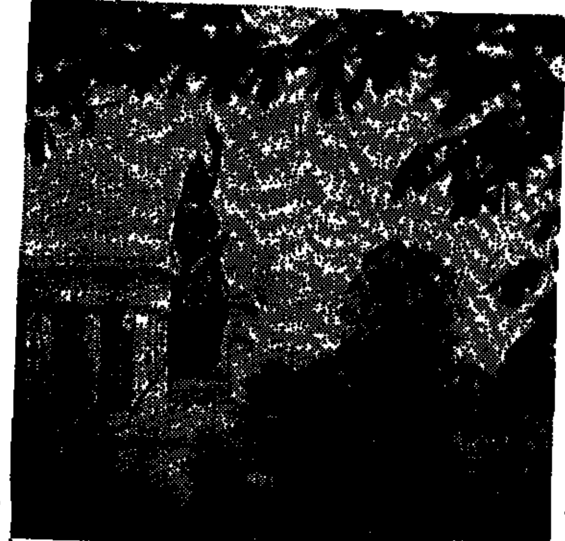
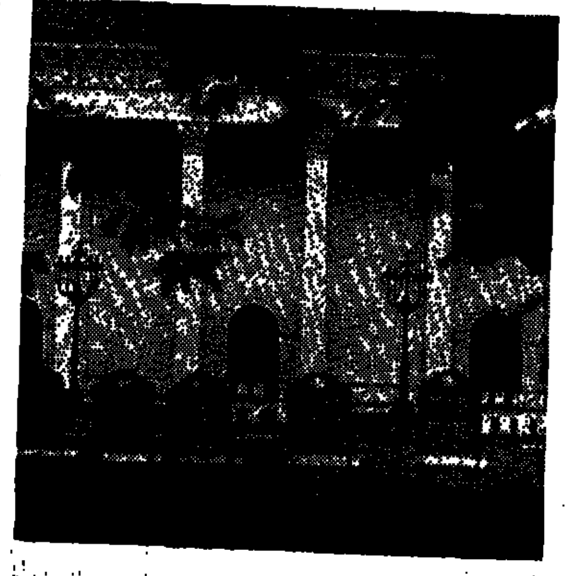


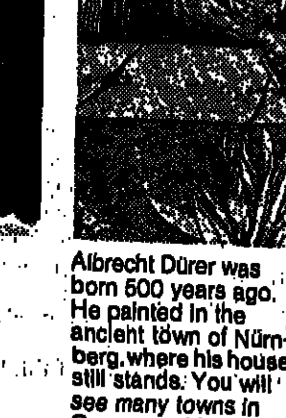




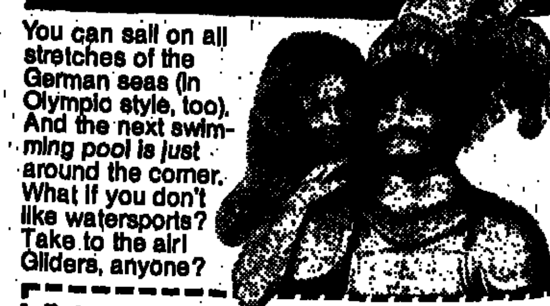


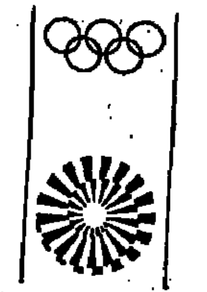












The German Tribune

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National interests still override pan-European aims

There is general lamentation in Europe about the latest failure to agree on a common European policy. Opinions differ as to who is the blame. It is only human for each country to lay the blame at the other's door and either arrogantly or with a note of bitterness to consider its own approach to be the only valid one.

There can be no denying that an opportunity for Europe was missed or frittered away at the recent all-night session of the Common Market Council of Ministers in Brussels. It was not the first missed opportunity and will not have been the last.

What makes the general disappointment so bitter is the indefinite but unmistakeable feeling that time is running short for Western European integration and the future prospects of Western Europe as a whole in the last quarter of the present century.

The realisation that a great deal of costly time has been lost since the establishment of the European Communities gives rise to a feeling of impatience and embitteredness in respect of the economic and political interests of member-countries as nation-states.

The separatist tendencies of individual Common Market countries obdurately resist all progress towards federative unity and joint rights and duties.

This handicap can hardly be expected to improve with the admission of four more nation-states to the EEC, at least three of which have developed historic and insular individuality in both thought and geographical isolation from the Continent.

In Britain France has found an ally in defending national sovereignty and raison d'état for as long as member-countries have not come to terms on major issues. In the meantime one crisis will follow the other in the movement for European integration.

If a federative state agreement can, and provided all goes well, will eventually be reached by way of a succession of crises and future challenges, conflicts and differences of opinion, though.

Charles de Gaulle, whose heritage made its presence felt at Brussels, invariably confronted European idealists with France's national interests and strove to justify his policy of maintaining national power on the ground that the historical development of nation-states was the reality.

In view of the debate on social policies, ways and means of educational policies, pensions schemes, savings, workers' participation in management, defence and the law in Common Market countries, not to mention Britain and Scandinavia there can be no denying that there was some truth in the General's claims.

On all major issues the peoples of Europe unite at the national level. Always one's own country is the final arbiter and Europe, the idea of a united Europe, is an afterthought like a prayer for the poor, the weak and the infirm.

How could it be otherwise twelve years after the inauguration of the Common Market as a customs union?

Yet hopes remain and as time goes by more and more is expected of a united Europe. And there is no stopping the impatience of the few people who are really in a hurry because they feel a historic opportunity has come that must be grasped. This impatience cannot but be a stimulus to forge ahead with integration.

Government policies must be aimed at gradually coming to terms with the others while at the same time keeping an eye on, indeed furthering national interests.

Differences can, however, arise between these two unquestionable obligations, as is currently the case in monetary and trade policies.

The American challenge to Europe in the form of an international monetary crisis that could well develop into a crisis of free trade and jeopardise solidarity between members of the Atlantic alliance as a result of the differences between interlinked and interdependent economies must be tackled.

The six, seven or ten members of the Western European community will either have to arrive at a joint response to the problems involved or suffer serious consequences as a result. Lamentation about the failure to agree on a common course of action has diverted attention from the nature of the compromises reached — and stopgap measures of this kind are seldom much good and still less so for long.

In view of conflicting interests in relation to trade with the United States and the role of the dollar Franco-Federal Republic confrontation is a necessary and inevitable stage in the process of finding a common denominator.

The two countries ought seriously to try and come to terms, and this country must realise that the French are afraid of German economic potential in Europe and the world as a whole, afraid of the direct dependence of the Federal Republic on the United States as a world power and little interested in the idea of the Mark as a reserve currency in a European monetary and economic union.

French resistance is a nuisance but this country's decision to go it alone in Brussels last spring was just as much of a nuisance for the French and others.

US economic policy has temporarily called into question the practical solidarity between Atlantic allies. North America and Western Europe remain two pillars of the same edifice but the roof sheltering the two has yet to be completed.

They are far removed from the idea of an Atlantic community and unless the alliance and free trade are to be cast to the winds both the material and the strategic bases of the Atlantic alliance must be safeguarded.

The Western world is based on partnership between countries that are all traders in a worldwide market.

Lothar Ruehl

(Die Welt, 21 August 1971)

IN THIS ISSUE



Berlin talks

American ambassador Kenneth Rush (extreme left), Piotr Abrasimov for the Soviet Union, Sir Roger Jackling for Great Britain and Jean Sauvagnargues for France concluded the draft agreement for Berlin after 17 months of negotiations on 23 August. The agreement has to be presented to the respective governments for approval. (Photo: dpa)

EEC Economic Ministers failure to agree disappoints

Progress towards European integration has become even more protracted and laboured, one can but conclude after the failure of the Brussels meeting of the Common Market Council of Ministers to discuss the current monetary crisis.

The tariff walls President Nixon has thrown up around the United States in defence of the dollar has created similar difficulties in all member-countries of the Six. Yet the common danger has not been sufficient to induce them all to take joint action.

Having failed to come to a conclusion the Common Market Ministers of Economic Affairs and Finance have adjourned until 13 September. For the time being each is left to his own devices. Common institutions have failed to be of service.

The Council of Ministers may have adjourned its meeting but the economy is not going to stand still. Somehow or other each and every country will have to cope individually with worries about its currency and economy.

At a juncture at which unity ought to have been maintained Europe has been referred back to indivudual member-countries.

Sentiments voiced in France are some indication of the danger. There is a temptation to revert to the catchphrases of the past in relation to conflicting interests between one country and the next. Something *must* be done to avert this danger.

Despite the damage that has already been done we can but count ourselves lucky that a full-scale confrontation between France and this country did not develop in Brussels. Views have changed since May and Dr Schiller's vain attempt to canvass support for floating exchange rates within the Common Market.

Benelux have come round to agreeing with the approach adopted by Bonn and Italy too has followed suit in Brussels. France, grimly defending state planning against free trade, is now out on a limb

This can hardly be considered cause for satisfaction. The courting of France, which has formed the nucleus of this country's post-war foreign policies, will need to be further intensified.

The economic facts so patently bear out the success of the German free trade policy that the Bonn Federal government cannot do other than reject all suggestions that might amount to a compromise with the system of state intervention and direction.

At the same time it is all the more important to avoid the slightest suggestion of self-satisfaction and to make every effort to counteract France's economic and national fears. Experience has shown that Western Europe can only prosper when the two countries make common cause.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 August 1971)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

China's dabbling in the Balkans worries the Kremlin

A handful of Chinese visitors to Bucharest and Tirana do not amount to a bid for the Balkans by Mao Tse-tung. No more does Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's likely visit to Albania, Yugoslavia and Rumania constitute a Peking-Tirana-Belgrade-Bucharest axis.

Yet fears and warnings to this effect were recently voiced in *Magyar Hirlap*, the Hungarian government newspaper. Budapest was merely saying in public what Moscow thinks in private, that the supposed axis is spearheaded against the Soviet Union.

Scant substance there may be to these accusations but since they echo Soviet fears about developments in the Balkans they have to be taken seriously.

Rumania and Yugoslavia pursue independent rather than anti-Soviet foreign policies. Janos Kadar of Hungary once put his party's relationship to the general public as one of being "Those who are not against us are for us." The Soviet Union appears to assess its relations with other communist countries according to the counter-proposition that "Those who are not for us are against us."

There is nothing new about Yugoslavia, Albania and Rumania going their own way and Moscow has been worried for some time. For some time too Rumania has been excluded from participating in all major decisions by the Warsaw Pact.

But now that the People's Republic of China is successfully acting on the international stage and encouraging all tendencies in communist countries to break free of Moscow the Kremlin has been at action stations. The Russians see the Warsaw Pact, which they consider to be their personal preserve, to be in jeopardy at its soft spot, the South-Eastern flank.

This danger too is nothing new. As long ago as January 1948 Stalin warned Georgi Dimitroff, the Bulgarian leader, not to dabble in Balkan integration.

In the course of a speech in Bucharest Dimitroff had suggested the establishment of a Balkan federation including Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania and Hungary and with access for Czechoslovakia and Poland even.

Plans of this kind have been made since the end of the eighteenth century and although (or maybe because) they have never been put into practice they regularly recur and are still debated today.

In 1968 Czechoslovakia toyed with the idea of a Danube federation comprising Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The Kremlin leaders were shaken to the core when, in the wake of this private study, Rumanian and Yugoslav leaders Ceausescu and Tito paid Czechoslovakia successive visits. This was yet another reason why the Soviet Union felt compelled to invade Czechoslovakia.

As recently as this year's congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party Todor Zhivkov planned to incorporate an appeal for cooperation between Balkan countries in his address. Leonid Brezhnev put in a word and this passage was deleted from the speech as delivered by the Bulgarian leader.

Nothing would be less to the Soviet Union's liking than the establishment of a Balkan federation or even a less formal link between the countries of South-East Europe at the expense of the direct influence so far brought to bear by the Kremlin.

Then as now the first public and express warnings against federation plans and the like have been issued in Hungary. In 1968 Janos Kadar appealed to Mr Dubcek not even to create the impression that Czechoslovakia either alone or in conjunction with other socialist countries sought to isolate itself from the Soviet Union.

He talked in terms of attempts by alleged imperialist circles to resurrect the Little Entente between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, which was established in 1921/22 and disintegrated in 1938/39.

Warnings of this kind were not long in appearing in the Hungarian press. The present Hungarian press comments sound a similar note.

There can be few Communist leaders who are so well-informed about the fears and intentions of the Soviet leadership as Mr Kadar, who is of the opinion that reform of the existing system of government in a socialist country, no matter how cautious it may be, is only possible providing that the country stays strictly in step with the Soviet foreign policy line.

Domestic independence is more important than foreign policy sovereignty as far as the Hungarian leader is concerned. He learnt his lesson in 1956.

Yet Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania warns against forces in the socialist camp that want to drive a wedge between the Balkan peoples. There is increasing talk in Yugoslavia of standing for neither threats in the form of, say, manoeuvres and speeches nor direct or indirect intervention.

There is even talk of solidarity of Balkan nations. This has only been practicable in the past when all of them have been threatened. The only Balkan pact that was ever a going concern was the old alliance against the Turks to liberate the peninsula.

For the Balkan countries China's negligible presence is a long way from being a guarantee of non-intervention in their foreign and home affairs.

As things stand China's offer of military aid to Bucharest in the event of an attack on Rumania is more a verbal commitment than a specific and effective undertaking.

But the Soviet leaders think well ahead. They are bound to want to cement the cracks on the South-Eastern flank while the going is good.

Nicolae Ceausescu's political high-wire act is growing steadily more dangerous. The unstable domestic situation in Yugoslavia, which cannot but worsen after President Tito's retirement, complicated matters for both countries. Another international crisis point is in the making. Only a spark is needed. *Dietrich Möller*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 19 August 1971)

President Banda in South Africa

Apartheid has been made a laughing stock by a black man, President Banda of Malawi, who attended an all-white banquet in Pretoria as the official guest of President Fouché and Premier Vorster who represent a State in which there is hardly a more cardinal sin than fraternisation between races.

Outside the banqueting hall a black man is not allowed to travel in the same bus as a white man. He has to join a different queue at the post office. There are even black and white park benches.

Now South Africa cannot be expected to introduce far-reaching changes in its racial legislation yet Dr. Banda's visit has not been without effect.

Black Africa may have excommunicated him for maintaining relations with South Africa but he has done more for the coloured population than politicians who just talk.

His visit to Pretoria calls the justification of South Africa's racial policies into question and strips them down to what they basically amount to: fear on the part of a stratum of whites of economic and political competition from the blacks. (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 August 1971)

President Bokassa regrets East ties

Political winds often turn fast in Africa, as Bonn last year learnt to its cost on several occasions. But it is not always the East wind that prevails.

Last week Jean Bedel Bokassa, President of the Central African Republic unexpectedly ejected East Berlin's ambassador with the explanation that relations would be broken off until East Berlin had sorted out its own problems with the Federal Republic.

Following the accusations levelled at the GDR embassy in Khartoum this is the second instance in a matter of weeks designed to impress on East Berlin the home truth that diplomacy in Africa is a hard day's work.

Walter Ulbricht's ambassador in Bangui, the capital city of the tiny Central African Republic (population two million), showed less interest in allocating GDR development aid than in propagating Marxist teachings.

As long ago as last December President Bokassa noted that "We now know what harm these overhasty and poisonous ties have caused us. They have lessened our prospects with old friends who understood us well enough and really helped us."

East Berlin is now fulminating about Bonn intrigues. There have been no intrigues on Bonn's part. It has merely been a case of an African President who has been able to put two and two together. (Deutsche Zeitung, 20 August 1971)

The German Tribune

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Europe's Med policy should be clarified

Various national aspects there may be to the Cabinet reshuffle in Morocco, the political vagaries of Malta and Spain's interest in Nato but they all have in common a link with European policy on the Mediterranean.

In Morocco King Hassan is trying, by means of Opposition participation, to consolidate his putsch-stricken monarchy.

His caretaker Cabinet may not include a single representative of the moderate Opposition but the King will be all the more anxious to meet Opposition demands half-way at points where they most lend themselves to compromise with his own views, on policy towards the rest of the Arab world.

King Hassan is trying to maintain his own principle of Islamic theocracy. The opposition National Front calls for foreign policy to be oriented more towards the Arab world and less towards France.

The right wing of the National Front, the Istiqlal, may be thinking in terms of a Greater Morocco extending at least as far as the Spanish Sahara, but the left-wing, socialist UNFP advocates union with the socialist countries of the Arab world.

The conflict of generations in the Moroccan officer corps also tends to strengthen the pan-Arab trend. Young staff officers trained since Moroccan independence on the one hand face old hands many of whom worked their way up from the ranks in the French armed forces on the other.

Defence Minister General Oufkir, the much-feared strong man of Morocco, is a "Frenchman" generationwise but in view of having been arrested some years ago in France in connection with the mysterious disappearance of Moroccan Opposition politician Mehdi Ben Barka he must no doubt be rated a pan-Arab.

All in all the tendency is towards a decline in Communist influence in Morocco and an increase in xenophobic Arab nationalism the most striking exponent of which is Libya.

European interests are directly involved in Malta, which is pretty well in the middle of the Mediterranean. Dom Mintoff, the new Premier, is demanding more money from Nato in return for the use of naval and military facilities on the island.

To judge by the tenor of his speeches in recent years it can but be assumed that the cash demands of Malta's Labour Premier are mere pretexts for a plausibly motivated policy of neutrality.

Mr Mintoff is in a position to raise the ante because the Libyan government has already hinted that it is prepared to invest part of its oil revenue from Western Europe in Malta. Moscow too has shown interest in using Maltese dockyards.

It must be brought home to the Maltese people that Nato is determined and strong enough to challenge Soviet pressure on the Mediterranean. The Maltese have too deep-seated a historic awareness of the strategic importance of their harbours to think otherwise than in terms of the Mediterranean as a whole.

In other words, if Malta is to survive it must be sure of the support of the power or powers that will prevail in the Mediterrean tomorrow as well as today.

Basically this or something like it is true of all countries with a Mediterranean coastline. Spain, for instance, is now for the first time expressing interest in Nato membership (in the past Madrid has rejected the idea) and is accordingly willing to review its neutral position and steer a clear European course.

The United States need Spanish approval of Nato if they are to incorporate this strategically important pillar at the Western entrance to the Mediterranean and the southernmost tip of Europe into the alliance, preparing the way politically regardless of Scandinavian opposition.

The Mediterranean is a matter not only of military strength but also of long-term political developments and the expansion of Nato to include Spain would directly strengthen Europe's southern flank and indirectly boost neutrals who, like President Bourguiba of Tunisia, have called on Europe credibly to defend its interests in the Mediterranean.

A determined Nato stand would help countries on the southern coastline of the Mediterranean to maintain genuine neutrality in the face of the Soviet Union.

Rolf Görtz

(Die Welt, 17 August 1971)

BERLIN

Berlin talks revolve round five complex factors

In the past week it was often stated that the next round of ambassadorial talks on Berlin might be the last for the time being. In the meantime the Western powers and the Soviet Union have agreed at last on the basic formula for a Berlin settlement. Jürgen Engert, reporting from Berlin, attempts in this article to describe the course of the negotiations.

Anyone who has kept up to date with the complicated material of the Berlin negotiations and the basic differences of opinion will never have believed that these negotiations could lead to a settlement at a brisk pace.

The more than thirty ambassadorial meetings in the former Allied Control Commission building have proved this. The framework for an agreement has not yet been built up. Members of the Bonn government are not concealing their disappointment at this. And Soviet diplomats are accusing the Americans above all of lacking in flexibility.

Soviet Ambassador Piotr Abrasimov has tried to sow the seeds of optimism after every session. And he has been successful. In this way the Western allies were put under pressure not only at the conference table but also among the general public. Washington saw through these tactics and as a result observers there were sceptical in their appraisal of the situation.

Beneath this general agreement there is a *layer* of difficulties which consists of five *complex factors:* access to West Berlin, *its foreign policy* representation, the presence of Federal agencies in the city, the proposed Soviet consulate-general in the western sector and communications between the two parts of the divided city.

The Soviet Union has defended its standpoint grimly. The Soviet ambassador received his directives from Moscow even before socialist Unity Party boss Erich Honecker had had his meeting with Leonid Brezhnev.

Since then Piotr Abrasimov has had two rounds of talks with the GDR leader. This shows to what extent East Berlin is mixed up in the negotiations and underlines the futility of the supposition that the Kremlin might make a radical change of course.

The Soviet leaders in Berlin could not only map the way ahead by taking their own interests into account since it is impossible to make these correspond completely to the interests of the GDR.

As far as an agreement of unhindered traffic between West Berlin and the Federal Republic is concerned, something for which Washington, London, Paris and Bonn are striving, Moscow is not prepared to stand as guarantor. Up until now Abrasimov has only been prepared to act as the GDR messanger boy, giving guarantees in the name of East Germany that transit will be swift and correspond to "international regulations."

In this respect he points out that as long ago as 1955 the Soviet Union handed over to the GDR the control of civilian traffic on roads and waterways from and to West Berlin. The "legitimate interests and sovereign rights" of the German Democratic Republic must, he underlines, be respected.

His line on the arguments about traffic between the two Berlins is similar. He points out that the eastern part of the city is an integral component of the GDR and is no longer subject to four-power status.

He has made a demand that the Bonn government and the Berlin Senate should embark on direct negotiations and sign treaties in which both recognise that East Berlin belongs to the GDR.

In addition the East wants the Berlin Senate to sign an agreement in which the relationship between West Berlin and its "environs" is fixed in detail. Only then will they allow West Berliners to enter the eastern part of the city and travel in the GDR.

Another bone of contention is the issuing of Federal Republic passports for West Berliners, which has been the practice for years. These are not recognised by East Bloc countries. The Soviet Union wants special papers introduced whereas the Western powers want to retain the Federal Republic passport and simply enter a special visa for West Berliners.

The Western allies are well aware that the GDR cannot be left out of regulations on transit since for years the East Germans have been exercising the controls. But if this fact were recognised de jure the attempt to make the Soviet Union responsible for transit would have failed.

The Western powers and the Bonn government could no longer appeal to Moscow when roads and waterways were blocked and trains delayed, but would have to deal with the GDR.

The Soviet Union is also working along this line, trying to prevent discussions of details by stating that this is a matter for inter German relations.

The Western powers, on the other hand, want to get the political coordination of a Berlin settlement in black and white so that only technical details are left to German authorities.

The motive behind this move is largely the suspicion that if the four ambassadors leave the wording too unclear the GDR could corner the Berlin Senate in direct talks and force it to make agreements that would undermine the legal position of the Western allies in Berlin. The Americans, British and French want to protect themselves from nasty surprises of this kind.

The procedure involved in negotiating and signing the Berlin treaty corresponds to this aim. Before the ambassadors initial the treaty the governments in Washington, London, Paris and Bonn as well as the Berlin Senate will look at the wording under a microscope.

In the first section the bases of access, traffic between the two parts of the city, the presence of Federal offices, the position of West Berlin in the framework of the Federal Republic as well as foreign representation of the divided city will be set out.

Inter German agreements are to form the second section.

In a final section the four powers will confirm their joint responsibility for the treaty. It is not yet clear whether the parties involved will exchange further diplomatic letters or notes. Likewise it is uncertain whether the four foreign ministers will hold a joint conference in Berlin and set the seal to the treaty with their own signatures.

Even this procedure will take time. There is no question of great advances in the short run, not to mention the different ideas represented by the ambassadors which have not yet been cleared up.

Some of these gaps could be bridged by provisory causes similar to the agreement on transit papers between the GDR and the Senate. In this agreement it has always been stated that an "an agreement on local authorities and the description of offices cannot be concluded"

It is hoped that controversies about the status of Berlin can be cleared up in similar fashion so that no party will be accused of having capitulated.

One example of this: Moscow would like a treaty to underline its thesis that there is Four-Power responsibility for *West Berlin* alone, whereas the Western Allies emphasise the supremacy of the Four Powers over the *whole* of Berlin.

This contradiction of ideas would be obvious if the area of validity of the Berlin agreement had to be described exactly. The ambassadors hope to steer round this problem by speaking of the "region" rather than describing precisely the area covered in the preamble to the treaty.

Despite this the Soviet Union and the Western powers want to squeeze as much of their owns views of the legal position into this treaty as possible. This has been shown by the contention surrounding the passages dealing with the presence of Federal Republic offices in West Berlin. Moscow wants not only to forbid official discussions by West German authorities in West Berlin but also to prevent all other activities of West German and Federal state organisations "involving an extension of their powers to Berlin (West)", which are tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of the city or which are "directed against the best interests of other nations."

Wording of this kind would give the East numerous chances to complain of a breach of the Berlin Treaty. Basically Moscow is telling the Western powers that they had no right to allow Bonn to conduct its affairs in Berlin since their, the Western powers', presence in the city was only tolerated by the Soviet Union and was not an innate right..

Now we are paying the price for the fact that at no earlier date were the differences of opinion between West and East on the inclusion of West Berlin into the framework of the Federal Republic cleared up.

The Americans, British and French have stated in letters of approval from their military governors among other things that they have reservations about Basic Law, which they have interpreted as a suspension of the membership of West Berlin in the Federal Republic governmental system.

On the other hand the German legal interpretation has to date read: The membership of West Berlin in the Federal Republic is firmly anchored. It is simply limited.

The prescribed restrictions – no voting rights for Berliners in the Bundestag and Bundesrat, no right for the Federal



Republic to govern the city – leave article 23 of Basic Law untouched. This is the article which stated that West Berlin would be drawn into the area of validity of Basic Law.

The Soviet Union is trying to make this contradiction work towards its ends. It is not prepared to allow the Bonn government to represent West Berlin in foreign affairs, permission that was granted by the Western powers back in 1952.

Russia is calling for a division into three. This would give the Western powers the right of representation in political and security matters, the Federal Republic the right of representation at the level of consular affairs and civil law and the Senate the position of negotiator in dealings with the GDR.

Bonn would be granted the right to include West Berlin in any non-political treaties it concluded, dependent only on the agreement of the other State across the negotiating table. There is no doubt that, when the other State is Communist it will always vote against this!

(Deutsche Zeitung, 20 August 1971)

Berlin talks – hard going for all concerned

Since the Four-Power talks on Berlin entered the present intensive stage the former Allied Control Commission building in Schöneberg has resembled a beleaguered fortress.

Up till now there have been between twenty and thirty reporters flitting around outside waiting for something to happen, but now there are more like one hundred all armed with note-pads, microphones and television cameras. They wait for hours outside for news of the talks.

Some are from Bonn and other important capitals. All hope to be in at the kill, when the final shape of the treaty is decided.

Although most of the 500 rooms in the one-time courthouse are now empty, no room was made available for the gentlemen of the press.

It is a hard time for the newshounds waiting outside the building. For there is a total news embargo. The journalists have to build up their reports on the slightest signs, on non-committal statements.

No wonder they try to find out what the ambassadors are up to by staring forlornly at the windows behind which the conference is taking place. When the windows are opened they at least know that they are taking a natural break.

The big moment of each day comes when the ambassadors leave the building. They always emerge one by one and immediately microphones are shoved under their noses.

But little of what they have to say is of consequence. Often in fact it is quite contradictory. They are only agreed on one point apparently, and that is that progress is being made.

The most confident is always Piotr Abrasimov. He speaks German, though generally only a few broken sentences. Often he gives the impression that he has been rehearsing these carefully since his answers do not always fit exactly the question he has been asked.

He is like Khrushchev in his love for pithy proverbs. "There is no rose without a thorn," he informed us.

In the past few days the ambassadors have been looking decidedly jaded. This is understandable when you consider that the temperature in the conference room is often as much as 30 degrees C (86 F).

The Americans being used to air-conditioning tend to ask for the ventilator to be switched on. The Russians obviously stand the heat better and know little of air-conditioning – they prefer to turn off the fan.

Even more tired than the ambassadors apparently are the experts, who have often had to negotiate for hours and hours between the ambassadorial meetings, a feat requiring great concentration. They have tussles over words, sometimes commas, too. One "in-joke" bandied around about the French expert René Lustig is "Lustig ist nicht mehr lustig" (Lustig is no longer cheerful).

Interpreters are having a hard time of it too. Their concentration must be unimpaired. The American interpreter Cyril Muremcev, who was also at the first round of Salt talks in Helsinki said: "Helsinki was much simpler. There were only two sides there."

Time and again in Berlin expressions have cropped up that do not translate exactly from one language to another. Trouble arises from Abrasimov's love of flowery Russian language and whenever Goethe is suddenly quoted in French. The one language that has had little role to play in the Berlin talks is German.

Lieselotte Müller

(Kieler Nachrichten, 19 August 1971)

■ **ARMED FORCES**

Personnel Commission proposes modernisation of military services

If the Bundeswehr continued to be run along traditional lines, it would collapse in the course of the next ten years. The armed forces would then have no future, a view not limited to the reformers in the Ministry of Defence.

The Ministry has already made many changes in order to cater for present demands and those of the future. It has also set up committees to examine urgent problems.

The Personnel Commission is one of these groups. It had already been set up before the present Minister of Defence Helmut Schmidt took office. It has now ended its work.

The guidelines contained in the Commission's report are not firm directives but proposals requiring government approval. As important changes concerning the status of civil servants and public officials are suggested, it is expected that other ministries will voice their objections.

The Personnel Commission also touched upon questions involving the structure of the armed forces though this is primarily the field of a different committee – the Armed Forces Commission.

At the beginning of the year this commission submitted a report of the justice and injustices involved in conscription and other aspects of the Bundeswehr. It is now carrying out its other main task, that of investigating the structure of the armed forces at the end of the decade.

Work to round off major Bundeswehr reforms will not be completed until the findings of a third commission are taken into account. This is the Training and Instruction Commission headed by Professor Ellwein that published its memorandum only a few weeks ago.

In many respects the tenets held by the Personnel Commission are revolutionary. They are a complete break from the past as the Commission believes that the

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

present personnel structure in no way satisfies the demands of a work-sharing industrial society. The structure is too rigid, too inflexible and unattractive. That is why, the Commission says, Bundeswehr recruiting has dropped and become the most urgent problem the armed forces must face.

Speaking about the reform proposals, the Ministry stated, "The new personnel structure should provide the framework for a modern-type organisation of careers and wage structure, set a yardstick for training and instruction and determine the type and extent of the soldier's professional training.

"This demands a reassessment of the function of military service. Account must be taken of the comparable civilian spheres. The re-structuring will be carried out in such a way that it is compatible with the general development of the professional world and the education system."

The reassessment and classification of military functions forms the starting-point. This was recognised as necessary years ago.

All functions linked together in some way will be included in one field of application. New fields of activity will arise which will not be bound to rank, even in questions of pay.

Even if a soldier continues at the some rank, it will be possible to have a wage increase. Technical and educational qualifications will be considered.

Ranks will continue to be a symbol of authority but "spheres of responsibility" will also be created. The Personnel Commission suggests four spheres of responsibility while the Training and Instruction Commission calls for five.

Promotion will be easier in these spheres than it is in the armed forces at present. A qualified corporal will find it easier to become an officer and on the whole soldiers will have better opportunities. They will be able to rise in their profession and, on leaving the armed forces, switch to a comparable civilian post.

The Personnel Commission has also outlined a plan for reorganising the armed forces, recommending basic, far-reaching changes in all areas of the present system.

Under this plan a professional army consisting of volunteers would deal with the large weapon systems and cover the centre of operations. Conscripts would serve as a militia and be in charge of uncomplicated weapons and equipment that did not demand much training.

The Commission adds that a purely professional army would not be suitable for the Federal Republic as it would be impossible to raise forces to the required strength, provide reserve units or replace losses in the event of enemy attack.

A professional army was suitable for countries that did not lie in an strategic danger area, the Commission said, but that did not apply to the Federal Republic. A purely professional army requires high expenditure on personnel and is also dependent on the state of the labour market in other respects.

The Commission stresses the importance of general conscription as the only way that the Federal Republic can fulfil her NATO obligations. If conscription were abolished, there would no longer be that important link between the army and the population and there was the danger that the Bundeswehr would be isolated within society. The system suggested by the Commission is therefore a mixture of the professional army and the army of conscription.

If the Commission's proposals are adopted the Bundeswehr of the future will consist of flexible, territorial and logistic elements.

The flexible section will consist of units with mainly tactical and operational duties. These units will be able to carry out important strike functions and will be made up of long-term volunteers and professional soldiers along with conscripts with practical career training.

Cadre units will also be included in the flexible section. These will be enlarged by reservists in the case of enemy attack and will support the operational units in the fields of battle.

The flexible units will be supplemented by a territorial army consisting mainly of reservists in the case of attack and will ensure the operational freedom of the units stationed in the Federal Republic.

It will combat any enemy groups that have penetrated the front line, protect military and civilian installations and repair important plants and factories, ensure supplies and train conscripts.

Conscripts serving in the territorial army will do their basic military service separately, as in a militia. A basic military service period of twelve months could be divided into six months basic training and six months full training. The six months of full training would be divided into courses or sections to be completed between the ages of 21 and 32.

The logistic element – the third part of the plan – is based on the civil supply system strengthened by military components. The United States acted as a model for these considerations.

The Personnel Structure Commission believes that this system would be of great advantage in future. The armed forces would correspond to the defensive nature of the Bundeswehr.

It would allow an enormous concentration of readily available fighting power and would be a suitable means of controlling crises. It would bring about work-sharing and an increase in efficiency without a large rise in expenditure.

It would also be possible to deal flexibly with the basic period of military training. This system would also be fairer as all young people eligible for conscription would be called up.

Helmut Berndt

(Der Tagesspiegel, 14 August 1971)

Commission rejects concept of payment by rank

No sooner has the Bundeswehr recovered from the shock of the Ellwein plan for the reform of army training and instruction than it is faced with the next move breaking with military tradition – the Personnel Commission's report.

But these two reports are part of one complex. They supplement each other and have the same point of reference – the Bundeswehr's shortage of recruits.

While the Ellwein Commission made proposals concerning the future training and instruction of soldiers, the twenty-man Personnel Commission chaired by Colonel Bung has been at work since the autumn of 1969 to show what opportunities personnel structure should give the soldier and what basis is needed for other reforms.

The Personnel Commission, consisting of officers and officials at the Ministry of Defence, bases its work on the premise that general conscription and the size of the armed forces should continue to be in the region of 460,000.

The Bundeswehr cannot therefore expect an increase in the number of volunteers. It can only improve their quality in an attempt to solve the personnel dilemma.

The medicine recommended by the Commission is to adapt the army still further to society or, more accurately, to pay soldiers according to their knowledge and productivity and no longer according to rank and length of service.

Admittedly, this is not stated so simply in the 183-page red-bound report, nicknamed ironically the Mao Bible. But the reader does a learn much about the procedure and basis of the Commission's work. It does not make the report any the more comprehensible to the layman but it is at least helpful and therefore convincing for the specialist.

The present system of payment by rank is no longer adequate. The wages structure does not differentiate between various jobs done by men of the same rank nor does it pay the same rate for the same job irrespective of rank. Promotion in the sense of higher pay is only possible if the soldier is promoted in rank.

This has led to a bulge in the relatively senior ranks (this applies now to the rank of captain) without any increase in lower ranks. Moreover, the present structure with its complicated allowance system is no longer flexible.

The Commission's wishes to adhere to the principle that the common denominator of all the public services is individual activity. But it wants to change the present system in so much as these individual activities will be classified systematically, analysed and defined and assigned to various spheres of responsibility.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

In order not to continue along an obviously wrong course until the basic reform work is completed, the Commission suggests forming the spheres of responsibility as soon as possible.

The spheres of responsibility will consist of a number of fields of application defined in the Commission's report as connected and supplementary activities with similar civilian and/or military training and ordered in a rising series of demands on knowledge, ability, mental and physical strain and responsability.

The Commission defines a sphere of responsibility as the organisation of activity, ability and knowledge in the sphere of equally high demands on responsibility of leadership and/or action. The spheres are differentiated from the varying degree of responsibility of leadership and action as well as a mixture of the two.

When faced in the past by the large number of duties to be carried out within the armed services, the soldier has only been able to find his bearings by remembering his rank which automatically determined his pay.

In future pay will depend on his position in the fields of application and spheres of responsibility. The system is thus on the whole more flexible and more like the civilian sector. The armed forces' special status is also reduced still further.

Military rank is degraded to a certain extent but not abolished. It remains as an outward sign of a certain degree of responsibility and a "means of military leadership".

The Commission differentiates between four spheres of responsibility rising from purely executive responsibility (for instance manual labour) to responsibility of leadership (direct control) and responsibility of supreme leadership (indirect control and planning).

Dependent on the findings of analyses conducted within the armed services, the Commission recommends entry qualifications for each of the spheres of responsibility. The standard of education and training should approach that of the civilian sector.

A reform such as this places special demands on personnel organisation. This should be standardised throughout the Bundeswehr though consideration will be taken of the peculiarities of the individual spheres.

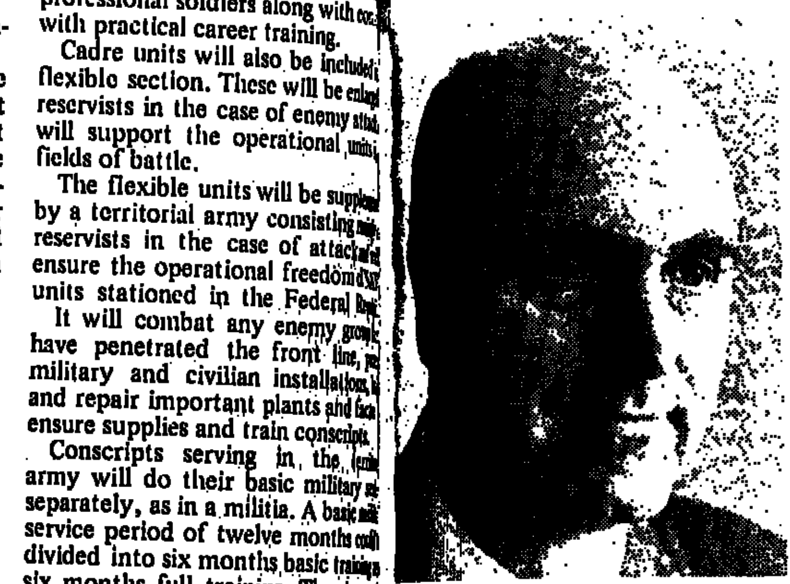
As personnel policy has long-term effects, the report warns against hasty

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NEWS MEDIA

The Federal Press Bureau – Bonn's ear and mouthpiece

BY RÜDIGER FREIHERR VON WECHMAR



Rüdiger Freiherr von Wechmar, deputy head of the Federal Press Bureau

The government spokesman is occasionally asked (well, what isn't he asked?) whether he considers himself to be the best informed man in Bonn. Up to now he has always denied it.

The government Press and Information Bureau and its staff do not aim to accumulate as much exclusive information as possible but wish to create the best possible basis for decisions by the political leadership by distributing a maximum of information.

The Federal Press Bureau is the *government's ear and not only* its mouthpiece as is often assumed.

An organisation that plans to inform others must keep its information services at a high level. The news section provides a regular supply, reducing 6,000 pages of information (yes, six thousand) to some 150 pages.

The head of the Bureau or his deputy – they alternate weekly as government spokesman – attend Cabinet meetings and the daily situation reports that are held early every morning under the chairmanship of Chancellor Brandt or Minister Horst Ehmke of the Chancellor's Office.

A short oral report on domestic and foreign affairs is given based on the Press Bureau's nineteen news bulletins and clippings of important articles that have appeared in the daily press.

Thoughts and views on the methods of presenting current affairs can be exchanged. This close contact between political leaders and the Press Bureau has been an important influence on the improvement of the internal flow of information and consequently on the improvement in the efficiency of informing the public quickly.

Since it was set up in 1949 the Federal Press Bureau (BPA) has been faced by the problems posed by a misunderstanding of its role.

Whichever party is in Opposition the Bureau is viewed as a powerful multipurpose weapon – the present government parties also thought this in the past – while politicians, especially government supporters, regularly complain of the non-utilisation of its allegedly extraordinary penetrating force that can overcome any journalistic resistance.

This results in both under-estimation and over-estimation. Under-estimation: the Bureau is without competition when it comes to providing immediate analyses or documentation of current problems of domestic or foreign policy or spreading government views on such problems to the general public both at home and abroad.

Over-estimation: any attempt to influence public opinion must adhere to the rules of opinion-making in a democracy that recognises government policy as only one vendor among many others on the journalistic market. These limits are drawn from practical activity.

Up-to-the-minute information by means of press bulletins and press conferences conducted by the government spokesman have priority in the whole sphere of activities concerned with the dessimination of information.

Of course this information policy must try to arrange this up-to-the-minute information into a medium-term and long-term concept. Despite all appreciation of the public's need for and right to information, information policy must be viewed as part of government policy.

In practice this means for example that the right time must be chosen for an announcement or the extent of its publication so that it does not have a detrimental effect on current negotiations or the political interests of third parties.

Constant contact with political journalism abroad is also part of information policy. There is a direct exchange of views with all representatives of important spheres of public opinion as information policy is not a one-way street.

In the medium and long term communication with the public is also conducted via the BPA visitor programmes that, in cooperation with members of all Bundestag parties, bring interested people from all sections of the population to Bonn for briefing visits spread over a number of days.

Another important part of the medium and long-term work is the publication of pamphlets, brochures or handbooks dealing with government plans in domestic and foreign policy or, in the case of the annual government report for instance, providing people with general information.

Opinion polls are also commissioned to provide a comprehensive picture of what could be termed the public interest so that gaps in information can be found and the circuit of information and communication closed.

Democracy is discussion – Thomas Masaryk's bon mot is even truer today. Political decisions are prepared by the BPA on the free market of opinion while bearing in mind the alternatives.

State information policy provides an objective foundation for public discussion without encroaching upon the process of democratic opinion-making.

The public has understood this. Though BPA publications are printed in higher and higher quantities they are soon sold out because of the rise in demand from all sections of the population. The narrow financial limits are felt to be a particular obstacle in this field.

An objective presentation of the government's standpoint also requires a constant public relations campaign on behalf of the government. This is both information and, if you want to describe it as such, propaganda in the truest, most positive sense of the term.

Of course the Federal Press Bureau is no propaganda *ministry* – it does *not* want to be nor will it ever be one. Democratic information policy would never consider employing a State monopoly on information or other authoritarian measures over the free press.

Democratic information policy is a partner on the opinion market and wishes to gain its effect through objective argumentation and its power to convince. This position must be considered whenever there is a public "success control".

The present government is gradually putting its reform programme into effect. Nobody can and nobody wants to introduce reforms in a democracy without consulting the wishes of the people. More public discussion on reform policy means at the same time more democracy.

(Vorwärts, 12 August 1971)

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measures exceeding the transitional regulations envisaged (which are specially defined).

The reform should be carried out in four phases over the next ten years. Each stage will be carefully planned. The new personnel structure would then be in full operation on 1 March 1981.

Annual expenditure on the reform would vary between one and three hundred million Marks. The ten-year plan will cost a total of 2,200 million.

The reform should turn the personnel structure of the Bundeswehr into that of a professional army. But the report is cautious and presents its proposal for a completely new armed forces structure consisting of a professional army and a conscript militia as no more than a plan for discussion.

Christian Potyka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 August 1971)



The Chief government spokesman, Conrad Ahlers (right), at a press conference with Rumanian Premier Gheorghe Maurer (Photos: Bundesbildstelle)

SHORTHAND NOTES

Reuters' news service

Reuters, the British news agency, will offer newspapers, television and radio companies in the Federal Republic a specially tailor-made news service from 1 December.

The agency's contract of cooperation with the Deutsche Presse Agentur (dpa) runs out on 30 November.

Adam Kellet-Long, the head of Reuters Bonn bureau, stated that the new German-language service will be based on Reuters world service. It will contain international news and important news affecting West Germany from abroad as well as items from the Federal Republic.

Kellet-Long added that between 25 and 30 editors and correspondents would work for the new service in Bonn, Berlin and Frankfurt. The headquarters will be in Bonn. At present eleven staffmen work for Reuters in the Federal Republic.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 31 July 1971)

Publishing plans postponed

Richard Gruner and Claus Jacobi have for the present postponed plans to publish a new news magazine in this country. Textintern, the Hamburg information service, states that this decision was made after examining the relevant economic factors and considering the interests of the future partners and editors.

Cooperation between Gruner, a former co-publisher of *Stern* and a partner of Rudolf Augstein, with Jacobi in the communications sector remains unaffected by this decision and will be continued.

Their ambitious plan failed because of the state of the market. From the very outset they intended to publish an independent magazine free of all subsidies and outside influences.

But the necessary conditions for a plan of this type obviously no longer exist. The start of another news magazine published by Springer is expected in the foreseeable future.

Der Spiegel, which has dominated this market up to now, suffered a considerable drop in its income from advertising in the first half of 1971.

(Handelsblatt, 6 August 1971)

New editor for Bild

Bild Zeitung, the mass circulation daily with the highest sales figures in the Federal Republic, has a new editor-in-chief.

The Axel Springer publishing concern announced in Hamburg that 44-year-old Peter Boenisch, the previous editor-in-chief, was replaced by 42-year-old Günter Prinz.

Boenisch now becomes the managing director of the holding company responsible for all aspects of the concern, the Axel Springer Association for Publicism.

His successor as editor-in-chief, Prinz, was deputy editor-in-chief of the illustrated magazine *Quick* until 1966 when he was appointed editor-in-chief of *Jasmin*.

(Handelsblatt, 5 August 1971)

Springer magazine

The Axel Springer publishing company plans to publish a new news magazine this autumn or in the spring of 1972, a spokesman for the concern announced in Berlin.

The group planning the new magazine consists of Wolf Schneider, the former publishing head of *Stern*, Hans Gresmann, the former editor of *Die Zeit* and Dr Hellmut Jäsrich, the former editor of *Der Monat*. (Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 August 1971)

■ THINGS SEEN

Horst Antes' symbolism on show at Baden-Baden

Klaus Gallwitz and Otto Schrag of the Modern Art Society have borrowed over one hundred water-colours from 56 collections so that Baden-Baden Art Gallery is now able to stage the largest and most important Horst Antes exhibition ever to have been organised.

The works give an overall impression of the development of the 35-year-old artist over the past six years. Previously unknown pictures from American galleries and private collections as well as from the artist's studio in Wolfartsweier present interesting aspects of his style.

As far as picture composition is concerned, any art-lover since the third and fourth *documenta* in Kassel, even one only half in touch with contemporary trends, will know that Antes' paintings can be defined as simplified facial forms in a somewhat signet-like style or archaically compressed figures whose clumsy limbs and malformed hands and feet grow directly from the head.

Form and colour merge with remarkable power of expression whereby the forms are organised in the structure of the picture in such a way that the colours become stable.

The correctness of such a definition can be observed readily in his *Masked Figures* painted in 1965. This series, ranging from *Red-Masked Figure after Ludwig Richter*, *Masked Figure on Yellow*, *Masked Figure with Blue and Red* and *Frontal Masked Figure* to the *Figure Concealed in Black* painted in 1970, also shows that Antes' composition does not always concur with the expression of his colour. The one can be derived from the other.

The Antes exhibition in Baden-Baden shows that the necessity of composition must be preceded by the free play of ideas and experiences that eventually shape the actual content of the picture form.



Figur Schwarz-Weiss (1967)
(Photos: Katalog)

His early *Masked Head* is not just any head. Antes himself has said that behind his standardised signet-like form there is a person in a different environment.

This environment is made up of constructivist areas that seem abstract at first glance. Their structural overlaps penetrate the human figure with colour and gradually gain naturalistic character, becoming a scene from nature, a landscape with a mountain and valley, plants and animals or stones and stars.

What is only formally hinted at in his *Red-Masked Figure after Ludwig Richter* painted in 1965 is further developed in his *Landscape Picture Couple* of 1968. The dialogue of the I and the you, of humans with their environment is in full swing.

The subject matter of this picture dialogue becomes richer as more and more spiritual content enters the natural forms of the painted world. Antes uses the old method of symbolism.

His symbols range from the wall, steps, tree-stump and pillars in *Masked Tubular Figure* of 1966/68 and the cloud, dice and dove of the 1968 landscape to the door of 1967 and the cross of 1970.

With these symbols Antes succeeds in forming with apparent spontaneity original and fascinating compositions. *Seated Figure with Disc and Egg* (1971) and *Blue Figure in Landscape* (1969-71) can serve as outstanding examples not because they are among the most recent of Antes' works but because he has used them to give pictorial expression to two basic spiritual attitudes of Western humanity.

The green seated figure in the midst of a stony wilderness personifies the meditating, introverted person seeking the unity between nature and the supernatural.

The phylactery symbolises introversion, the egg is an expression of original thought and the disc shows inner enlightenment.

While we see here the pictorial symbol of monasticism and mysticism, the blue figure with eyes wide open in the other painting is looking from a house far out over hill and dale, representing a Lynceus-type nature totally concentrated on the events of this world.

Horst Antes already showed the world as experience and the world as relation in the earlier work *Two Spheres* (1967). Through an open door the natural environment pours into the picture in an excess of colour. A person stands in the doorway, his head ending with the door-frame.

What begins above and on the other side of the door frame? It may be that Antes only wanted to separate the interior and the exterior. But what interior and what exterior?

It is tempting to believe that Antes is using the door frame to separate the natural environment from the supernatural, thus providing a pictorial symbol of the intellectual sphere. The same door frame recurs in the *Green Interiors* of 1969, the *Green Figure* of the same year and, most plainly of all, in the *Ochre Figure with Hand and Side Wounds*.

This exhibition ought to help people gain a much better impression of the main features of Antes' work. It will be open to the public at Baden-Baden until 26 September.

It will be available for viewing in Berne Art Gallery from 16 October until 21 November and Bremen Art Gallery from 5 December 1971 to 30 January 1972 before moving to the Frankfurt Kunstverein where it will be on show from 11 February until 26 March.

Wilhelm Eisenbahrt
(Die Welt, 6 August 1971)

Nuremberg exhibition closes

The Albrecht Dürer exhibition in Nuremberg's Germanisches Nationalmuseum ended on Sunday 1 August after 350,000 people had visited it. A museum spokesman stated that they had expected only 100,000 visitors.

This, the largest ever Dürer exhibition had seven hundred works on show, four hundred of them originals. The works were lent by 110 museums, collections and private owners from fourteen countries.

The Second Nuremberg Biennale also ended on 1 August. Over 64,000 visitors were registered. The Biennale was entitled *Artists – Theory – Work* and was devoted to art theorists from Dürer to the present day, showing 500 works by eighty artists and art groups from both home and abroad. The First Biennale in 1969 was attended by 55,000 visitors.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 August 1971)

Olympics poster



Victor Vasarely has completed a second poster for the 1972 Munich Olympics. The artist, pictured in his studio in the south of France, has given his own personal stamp to the official emblem of the Munich Olympics and reformed the spirals in shades of blue and yellow-brown. The poster, both signed and unsigned, will be published by Edition Olympia 1972.

(Photo: Edition Olympia 1972)



Figur Fürst Putjatin (1967)

Paul Klee's works exhibited in Duisburg

Most of Paul Klee's works are to be found in America today, the elderly man in Duisburg's Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum said with a friendly smile on his lips.

It was Felix Klee who was speaking, the great painter's only son who lives in Berne as the administrator of the largest collection of his father's works to be found in Europe. He also has his own important private collection of works of Paul Klee.

This collection has never been seen before in this country. Siegfried Salzmann of the Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum has now managed to have it shown in Duisburg until the end of August. Duisburg is the only place in the Federal Republic where this collection will be seen.

Felix Klee's collection does not only consist of his father's works of which there are 318 on exhibition. There are also 62 works by friends and pupils of Paul Klee, showing the extent of the artist's influence.

For this reason the Lehmbruck Museum has called the exhibition "Paul Klee and his Painter Friends". The works of the friends to be found in Felix Klee's collection, mainly of the Bauhaus and Blaue Reiter periods, have never been on public show before.

Werefkin's dark nocturnal pictures stand out as do the *Variations* of Jawlensky who was a decisive influence on Klee during the First World War.

The list of friends is long. It includes female artists Gabriele Münter and Ida Kerkovius, it shows Klee's links with Emil Nolde, Feininger, Schlemmer, Paul Elsberg, Max Peiffer-Watenphul, Albers, Bill and Albert Bloch. It also shows his close connection with Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky.

Klee himself appears in this collection with examples of all stages of his creative activity. In 1940 during his last few months alive he finished no fewer than four hundred works. On his last painting, a fragment, Felix Klee has only just discovered the faded inscription: "Should everything be known? No, I don't think so."

Every picture in the collection has a memory or a story behind it for Felix Klee. In Duisburg the works are exhibited according to subject matter. Pictures and drawings from his private life give way to landscapes.

On top of this comes the sphere of abstraction, geometric forms and pictures formed of letters of the alphabet where Klee is compressing the link between sensitivity, visual perception and symbolism to units of widely different form.

Wolfgang Stauch von Quitzow
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 8 August 1971)

PROFILE

Ludwig Marcuse, advocate of a new humanism, dies at the age of 77

Ludwig Marcuse, the philosopher and [illegible], died on 2 August in a Munich hospital after a long illness. He was 77. The news of his death was kept a secret for several days at his own request. The public were not admitted to his funeral on 6 August in Bad Wiessee where he had settled. He first rose to fame as drama critic of the *Frankfurter Generalanzeiger*. In 1933 he emigrated, moving first to France and then in 1938 to the United States where he received American citizenship and became Professor of German Studies and Philosphy in Los Angeles. It was not till 1960 that he returned to Germany and took up a guest professorship at Frankfurt University. Since 1962 he has been living in Bad Wiessee as an independent writer.

Since all the talk has been about the other Marcuse, communist philosopher Herbert Marcuse, there has been some confusion about Ludwig Marcuse. But any mistakes of this kind bear witness to sheer laziness. Ludwig Marcuse is unmistakable.

For instance his intelligent and informative biographies of Georg Büchner, Börne, Heinrich Heine, Ignatius von Loyola, August Strindberg, Sigmund Freud and Richard Wagner are unmistakable. He declared war on generally accepted facts on which all have been agreed for a long time, or on which agreement can be quickly and comfortably reached without bother. His critical mind always turned to the truth behind the facts.

Unmistakable too is his work of contentious polemics *Obszön – Geschichte einer Entrüstung* in which he preaches passionately his Philosophy of Fortune and defends the rights of the individual against society. This is true to his thesis: Humanity is nothing, but humans are everything.

This "conservative anarchist" mistrusted all ideologies, philosophies and theologies. In his mind their precepts distorted reality, and their systems alienated men from themselves. Their answers were only a cover-up for their tiredness which prevented them from asking questions. Questioning themselves and the answers to their own questions.

Unmistakable too are his *Papers of an aged Philosophy Student*, unmistakable because of the fascination of their literary dialectics, philosophy and relationship to reality. Here we have a strange example of a German philosopher whose writings can be understood! "Philosophy is for everyone", Marcuse claimed. "Thinking is not the preserve of the experts."

He always regarded life as applied philosophy. His recipe for countering phrases, prejudices and clichés was "arguments". The reader of his books, his "patient" so to speak, must exert himself, reflect on what he is reading if he wants to profit from Marcuse's writings.

Perhaps this is why this astonishing Professor of Philosophy has always been treated with suspicion by the experts. He and his books were too aggressive for their liking, too brilliant, too full of polemics. No German university wanted to take him on.

Perhaps he was also a suspicious character because he did not have the traditional academic background. Marcuse, a Prussian Jew, began as a theatre critic in Berlin and Frankfurt after completing his philosophy studies. Then came his years of exile, which he describes in his autobiography *Mein 20. Jahrhundert* (My twentieth century).

But Marcuse did not bother the general run of philosophers greatly. The scalpel he used in his dissecting jobs was methodic doubt, which helped him time and again in ever new moves to "throw some light on the puzzle of this puzzling world".

Pessimismus, ein Stadium der Reife (Pessimism, one stage of maturity) is the title of another of his books.

He was a moralist who wanted to enlighten, a sceptic who believed in the reason of the human mind the way others believe in miracles.

However you may judge the outcome of his meditation it is decisive that here is an individual who is relentlessly in pursuit of the truth and ready to defend freedom of thought against all the conventions. Thus Marcuse himself became his own enemies' advocate.

Marcuse wrote his last book in 1969 when he was "staring death in the face". The title *Nachruf auf Ludwig Marcuse*. At the time he wrote this book Marcuse had a double experience of death. He lost his wife Sascha and then learnt that he himself was mortally ill.

The book is marked by moving laments and a merciless reckoning up with himself. Like Jean-Paul Sartre in *Les Mots* Marcuse formulated his own downfall. It is not really to have achieved pleasure to have achieved good fortune.

"All the things unseen, unheard, never smelt, never tasted: because for many hours, years, decades, senses and sympathies lived only indirectly – in concentration on a blank sheet of paper. He had not proved his worth as a connoisseur and as a fellow human-being, which was his bent. When he judged himself by the standard of his greatest passion he came to a grim conclusion: by pursuing the one pleasure, reflecting and writing, he had missed other pleasures. Above all he had made no preparation for bliss and joy."

I visited Ludwig Marcuse then in Bad Wiessee where he is now buried. The man I met had suddenly aged and become a broken man. "Now I have no one," he complained. "They are all dying on me."

He added: "Since Sascha died I have no present, only a past. My twentieth century is all backstage. I am old. One should know when to give up. Why should I go on writing? I've said everything. I've written eighteen books. I don't want to go on."

At the same time he told me: "My great strength is that I discovered the most beautiful word in any language at an early age, *Glück*! (Luck, happiness)" But he added: "It is my weakness that I do not have a great capacity bo be *glücklich*."



Ludwig Marcuse
(Photo: dpa)

Nevertheless his last book was more than a personal testament of sadness. Marcuse's vain search for *Glück* is typical of the estrangement of modern Man. It marks the sad insight that the thinking man cannot put his thoughts into actions. But even in defeat Ludwig Marcuse championed the right of the individual to his own private fortune and happiness. He was brave and uncompromising to the end.

Armin Halstenberg
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 August 1971)

Little-known art from 1924 to Third Reich exhibited in Berlin

Professional critics, a notoriously staid bunch, have something to get wildly excited about at the Nierendorf Gallery in Berlin, which is now presenting the second part of its exhibition *The Twenties*.

Once again this gallery has shown its tremendous scope with an ambitious exhibition of this kind.

The first part last year took in the years 1914 to 1923. Now the gallery is exhibiting paintings, sculptures, sketches and graphic art from the period 1924 to 1933, that is to say spanning the years from the Great Inflation to the seizure of power by the Nazis.

A total of 518 works is on show, a tremendous achievement on the part of those who collected the works and those who organised the exhibition. On several walls there are three rows of pictures, one on top of the other.

It would not be worthwhile to sing the praises of the famous artists again, Otto Dix and Georg Grosz for example, or Käthe Kollwitz and Carl Hofer. It is far more important to pay some attention to artists whose works have not been treated with great respect by the art historians.

Among them are for example Josef Scharl from Munich, who died in 1945 in New York whence the courageous anti-Fascist had fled. Of his works we can see in Berlin two sharply outlined sketches *Säugling* (Baby) and *Drei im Gespräch* (Three talking) and a large portrait *Mädchen mit Hut* (Girl in a hat). These show how this painter took up the agitated style of Vincent van Gogh in a highly personal vein.

Fritz Burmann's *Alte Frau* painted in 1925
(Photo: Katalog)

Also on show is work by Xaver Fuhr, whose soft colours and dry style of painting show the relationship of things as if they were trying to demonstrate that all things are relative.

Karl Hubbuch, who was one of the great social critics among the artists of the day, must not be forgotten. Very few people remember his early work.

Nor must we forget Conrad Felixmüller, the woodcut artist who painted a striking self-portrait in water colours. His face radiates cool passion, the face of a ruthless observer.

Fritz Burmann died in Berlin in 1945, and the author of this article who prided himself on his knowledge of art in this city must admit he had never heard of him! His *Alte Frau*, who is half blind, spotty, helpless and alone is a shatteringly ugly old women.

Alexander Kanoldt and Carlo Mense represent *Neue Sachlichkeit* (The new objectivity). Oskar Nerlinger is the representative of the Berlin school *Die Zeitgemäßen* (Modernists). They were formerly abstract painters, but under the influence of the world economic crisis they were pitched into political involvement. This was quite a spectacular occurrence in its day, but most histories of art ignore it.

This and any number of other gaps are filled in by this comprehensive exhibition. Most of the works on show are for sale. They are all reproduced in the catalogue, which has an introduction by Florian Karsch, the co-owner and *spiritus rector* of the gallery. It contains short biographies of the artists, a list of exhibitions showing their works and bibliographic material. The whole enterprise is praiseworthy because it is so informative.

Jürgen Beckelmann
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 August 1971)

■ EDUCATION

Spartacus Marxist Students Union gains in influence

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG
Industriekurier

The steady rise of the Spartacus Marxist Students Union to become the most influential political student group in the Federal Republic can easily be explained.

Though the organisation has no more than 1,500 members, it already controls the general student committees at the universities of Hamburg, Bonn and Karlsruhe, Hanover Technical University and the colleges of education at Essen and Wuppertal.

It also controls these committees at seven other universities in cooperation with the Social Democratic University League. The Association of Students Unions in Bonn – an umbrella organisation – is also ruled by the Spartacists in coordination with the Social Democratic League.

Spartacist cadres have been formed at forty universities and two months ago the organisation decided to set up a Federal headquarters.

Spartacus, named after the revolutionary organisation set up in 1917 by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, has one advantage over all the other extreme left-wing student groups – its tight, centralised organisation and strict discipline.

Because of their ideas of organisation, Spartacus supporters, whose ideological antennae are directed towards Moscow and East Berlin, were unable to meet with any success within the now-defunct SDS, an anti-authoritarian and anarchist student body. They were expelled from the SDS as early as 1968 at the instigation of that body's chief ideologist Krahl.

While the SDS foundered because of the shortcomings of its organisation, the Spartacus traditionalists quietly built up small cadres that followed the orthodox Communist line set by the West German Communist Party (DKP) and the East German Socialist Unity Party (SED) which helped the students in questions of organisation, finance and ideology.

The Spartacus League shuns spectacular street demonstrations or similar action on the university campus. Its leaders have recognised that the body will not be very successful if it merely frightens people. They realise that the Federal Republic is not in a revolutionary or pre-revolutionary state.

Accordingly, they decided upon the "long march through the institutions" which only a group with a hierarchic structure and with members sworn to unconditional obedience could carry through.

Spartacus chose this course with everything it involved. It entered student parliaments, scorned by anti-authoritarians who consider them to be places for talk and nothing else.

It tried to obtain positions within the General Student Committee which would not only give it organisational advantages but would also allow it access to the membership fees that students are forced to pay.

Its carefully briefed representatives took up positions on all bodies of student administration and was prepared to enter into any coalition, true to its motto: "Firm on doctrine, flexible in method."

An example of the body's tactics was seen at the election of the head of Marburg University. Social Democrat Rudolf Zingel was voted into office by a coalition of all left-wing groups. Because of his narrow majority he now finds it hard to ignore the views of Spartacus when taking decisions.

Local cadres are continuing to follow this course as they try to occupy as many seats as possible on faculty conferences.

When these seats are filled by Spartacists they are used for the second stage of the strategy. Together with its left-wing coalition partners, Spartacus can then fill vacant positions for professors, tutors and lecturers with their own supporters or sympathisers.

In this way the Spartacists not only change the composition of these bodies to their own advantage, they also get teaching posts for people who will spread their ideology.

Study reform commissions are now calling for Marxist syllabuses and techniques in all subjects. Spartacus' position at some universities is already so consolidated that it need no longer propagate Marxism as one of many ways of thinking, which would be a just demand, but can call for the abolition of the pluralistic academic system in favour of a Marxist scientific interpretation of the SED stamp.

The Spartacists have no illusions concerning the extent of their support. The numerically small cadres now limit themselves to certain selected positions in the pursuance of their aims.

At present they are concentrating on teacher-training as they hope in this way to find people who will spread their ideology to the schools. They are also concentrating to a lesser degree on law and economics.

Spartacus' attraction for the students lies without doubt in its easily comprehensible, closely defined and universally applicable ideology.

Membership figures for the organisation will remain low because of the discipline and readiness for action demanded of its members but its influence will continue to grow.

At present the Spartacus League has only two fears. The university laws could be changed to the disadvantage of current student representation before the Spartacists have extended their bridgeheads into the territory of lecturers and professors.

Its second fear is that the Social Democratic Party could extend its decision not to work with Communists to the universities. Spartacus could then lose its most important ally, the Social Democratic University League.

Klaus Viedebantt

(Handelsblatt, 3 August 1971)

Student population increases

A total of 352,131 students were registered at the 54 universities in the Federal Republic in the 1970-71 winter semester, an increase of 9.1 per cent over the 1969-70 winter semester.

The Federal Statistics Bureau in Wiesbaden, announcing these figures, said that 23,000 of this total were foreign students.

The most popular subjects were the arts with 29.9 per cent, the sciences with 19.1 per cent, economics with 13.2 per cent, law with 10.5 per cent, technology with 9.8 per cent and medicine with 9.2 per cent.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 August 1971)

Television becomes part of classroom furniture

VORWÄRTS

Television will be used to a great extent in West German schools this autumn, with all the benefits it could entail for the Federal Republic's education system.

School timetables might be stabilised as broadcasts will not be limited to schools in one particular Federal state. Teachers will be able to devote themselves to other teaching work and the current teacher shortage could be eased.

Hopes of this sort are not unjustified. A survey conducted by the psychology department of Würzburg University showed that 85 per cent of the teachers interviewed thought that schools broadcasts could be incorporated into the timetable without too much difficulty.

Pupils would almost without exception show greater interest in their televised lessons and would pay more attention.

The survey did not find any evidence of the much-vaunted fear among teachers that they could be forced out of a job by television.

Bavaria was the first Federal state where school broadcasts were transmitted. Last autumn the city of Munich spent 90,000 Marks to provide each of its 45 intermediate schools with a video-recorder so that programmes could be recorded and replayed as often as required.

Dr Erhard Bergmann, the specialist for questions of school broadcasts at the Bavarian State Institute for High School Education, has made a thorough examination of the programmes.

Speaking about science on school television, Dr Bergmann states, "First closed-circuit equipment helps pupils to obtain a good view of scientific experiments and demonstrations. Dangerous experiments, those involving highly inflammable or radioactive substances for instance, can be filmed and transmitted to a television set in the next room."

The Würzburg survey also showed that teachers thought that both the visual and sound aspects of the programmes were given appropriate treatment.

There was only one difference of opinion. The majority of teachers interviewed called for television programmes that would primarily enrich, supplement and illustrate lessons that had already been taught at school.

But 26 per cent of the teachers thought that it would be better to have the television as part of the lesson. Twenty-minute long programmes would be most suitable in this respect.

When television is used more in schools it would also be desirable to have a special subject dealing with communications media.

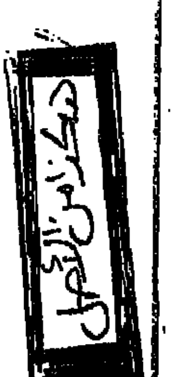
Surveys have shown that children are normally prepared to believe what they see in films and on television. In time they will come to believe these media more than they do teachers and parents.

Jost Funke of the Lower Saxony College of Education says, "Films and television are well-suited to be educational aids as long as enough educational and psychological consideration is paid to them before they are put into use.

"It is not enough just to examine the content of what the media communicate, the media themselves are an equal part of the educational content. The functions of film and television must therefore be taught to children at a pre-school stage. They can then obtain a better idea of the ostensibly objective nature of these media."

Klaus Jungnickel

(Vorwärts, 29 July 1971)



Educationalists investigate teacher's role in society

Sociology is gradually becoming the centre of interest in education as in other subjects. What role does a teacher play in society? What is his function as regards pupils and parents? On what conditions and changes is the teacher's role based?

People looking for a thorough and objective answer to these and similar questions should turn to *Der Lehrer in Schule und Gesellschaft*, volume twelve in the series "Education in Theory and Practice." The book is edited by Dr Betzen and Professor Nipkow, both of whom teach education at the University of Tübingen.

Mention is made in the first section of "role-oriented sociological teacher research."

All but two of the texts selected for this section come from well-known British educationalists.

The aspects they raise only form one part of a balanced selection but it must always be remembered on reading these texts that they are based on Anglo-Saxon and not German traditions.

They are very informative as far as the study of education is concerned but they do not relieve us of our duty to analyse in similar fashion the specific conditions of schools in this country.

The first section of the book emphasises the sociological aspects of the teacher's role and is continued in the second section in a more psychological light. The teacher's role in the educational process now comes to the foreground.

Nickel's survey of the subject can be read to great advantage along with Wieczerkowski's detailed study. Wieczerkowski's work is of particular benefit to educationalists as it reveals the close and significant interrelationship between the linguistic habits of teachers and their pupils.

Der Lehrer in Schule und Gesellschaft (The teacher in school and society) edited by Betzen and Nipkow. Published by the Piper Verlag. 320 pages. 14.80 Marks.

Four tables of facts lead the reader to assume that the linguistic features analysed depend not on the outward facilities for teaching but on the personal views and attitudes of teachers.

The third section, while still within the general sociological framework, stresses the educational aspect, discussing important problems such as the school's function of qualification and selection.

The book does not only provide a large amount of information about the findings of teacher research. It also deals very critically with the basic educational theories and, because of its objectivity, is a welcome contribution of educationalists from both home and abroad to the sociological analysis of the teacher's role in the modern world.

Heinz Fäh

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 7 August 1971)

■ MEDICINE

Munich experiments probe mysteries of biological clock

One of the most interesting phenomena that behavioural physiologists are currently trying to explain is the biological clock governing our actions.

Professor Jürgen Aschoff from the Max Planck Institute of Behavioural Physiology in Eding-Andechs near Munich used a number of diagrams to show that the speed of people's reflexes depends on the time of day. He also found that women as a rule react somewhat more quickly than men.

It is not only reflex movements that vary. He also claims that mental and physical functions follow a daily routine dependent on the Earth's 24-hour rotation period and the resultant day and night alternation.

Professor Aschoff told of experiments with volunteers who were kept in absolute darkness for four days. Measurements of all important physical functions showed that these continued to follow a 24-hour rhythm.

The alternation of light and darkness, day and night cannot therefore be the cause of the 24-hour pattern. The biological clock must depend on independent endogenic rhythms built into the organism.

Further proof for this theory was provided by experiments on animals that were kept for days on end under the same degree of light in soundproof chambers.

With the aid of ingenious equipment fitted into the cage the scientists were able to take constant measurements of the oxygen consumption, movement and eating habits of a chaffinch.

At first light and darkness alternated the same as normal when the measurements were taken. During the second stage of the experiment the same functions were measured at a constant temperature and brightness.

These tests too showed that the normal patterns continue in all three functions measured. They must therefore be endogenic rhythms that are not learnt but are innate.

Further constant-light experiments showed beyond doubt that this physical rhythm is preserved through the generations.

The extent to which the organism is tuned to these inner rhythms could be observed during an experiment with flies kept under artificial day and night conditions.

When these flies were subjected to the conditions of a 28-hour day they had a shorter life expectancy than under the normal conditions of a 24-hour day.

The life expectancy of all creatures seems to depend on a fixed number of rotations of the "circadian clock". The suspected dependence of the ageing process on the biological clock opens exciting new perspectives in the field of medicine.

The specific life expectancy of a species would then depend on the speed with which the planet where it lived rotated. That could mean that the hypothetical creatures on a planet with a longer rotational period than the Earth would live longer than those here.

But where is the biological clock to be found – in the brain, in the heart, in the abdomen? Professor Aschoff believes that every cell forms a circadian clock.

The experiments suggested that this could be the case. The various rhythmic functions of the body were found to be progressing at different frequencies.

The findings show that the organism does not have a single centralised biological clock to which all functions are connected. Every part of the body, every cell ticks along by itself completely unsynchronised.

Hans Lesser

(Münchner Merkur, 31 July 1971)

Cold weather causes toothache, Berlin researcher claims

Münchner Merkur

Doctors find they have their hands full when the weathermen forecast hot south winds. Heart attacks and the often fatal embolies increase.

Dentists often have to work overtime when a cold front spreads across Western Europe. People find that their teeth tend to ache more in cold weather.

Engineer Erich Wedler came across these links between the weather and the incidence of various complaints after many years of work at the department of meteorology and geophysics at the Free University of Berlin.

He, like many other climatologists, did not share the widespread belief that sickness could be caused by the heat, the cold or the change of weather.

Instead he saw individual weather factors as the cause for "summer sickness" and the climatic influences that sometimes prove dangerous.

Wedler was able to test his theories during a year of climatological and medical experiments in which 42 hospitals and six universities participated.

Almost eight thousand case histories were obtained from hospitals. Acute complaints such as strokes, embolies, heart attacks and epileptic fits were chosen as their start can be fixed to a point of time and related to weather conditions then prevailing.

All the clinical data resulting from the year of experiments were fed into a computer for analysis. The first results indicate a clear link between weather and disease.

Caries, tooth abscesses and infections of the gum were twice as frequent on days when a cold or occluded front crossed the country.

Embolies were 61 per cent more frequent than normal in warm weather. Heart attacks increased by exactly 49 per cent over the normal level.

Wedler has good reason for claiming that the northward spread of subtropical warm air at high altitudes is a dominating feature of the influence of the weather.

He is not alone in his views. The first results of the Berlin experiments concur with recent findings by researchers at the Hamburg Meteorological Observatory and other weather stations in Bad Tölz, Tübingen or Königstein.

(Münchner Merkur, 10 August 1971)

Townfolk more liable to mental complaints

Inhabitants of densely populated urban areas, especially working-class estates, go to see a psychiatrist more frequently than people living in other urban residential areas.

Professor Battegay of Basel University's Psychiatric Clinic came to this conclusion after studying the statistics of 2,558 cases.

Another surprising finding of his study is the fact that widows go to psychiatrists less often than widowers.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 August 1971)

Male mortality rate increases

The male morality rate in the fifteen to twenty and 65 to 75 age groups increased between 1961 and 1968 according to a survey conducted by the Federal Statistics Bureau of Wiesbaden.

The main reason for the increase in the fifteen to twenty age range is the rise in the number of accidents, the Bureau reports, while the rise in the 65 to 75 age range can be traced to the increased incidence of cancer and heart disease.

Only newly-born males and those in the eighty to ninety age range have an increased life expectancy. The life expectancy of women has increased in all age ranges.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 5 August 1971)

Automated medical centre opens in West Berlin

A medical examination centre with a difference was opened in Berlin at the beginning of June. Medical data and findings are determined automatically by computer as far as possible.

The patient's past medical history is compiled automatically. He sits before a screen and presses a button whenever one of the 300 questions asked is relevant.

He now wanders from room to room with a programmed data card. He is measured and weighed and his pulse and blood pressure is taken. Body temperature and lung and thyroid gland functions are also measured.

After an X-ray he goes to the laboratory where a blood sample is taken and the important body excrements are examined.

The course of the examination differs for men and women as the cancer prevention section involves different departments. Eyesight and hearing tests also form part of the automatic examination.

But people are still needed to analyse the results provided by the X-rays, electrocardiograms and gynaecological examinations. Specialists are retained to be at the disposal of the medical examination centre. Within 48 hours the family doctor will be in possession of all the computerised medical data needed for diagnosis.

Unlike the Diagnostic Clinic at Wiesbaden, the new medical examination centre does not supply a diagnosis but it does provide a thorough two-hour medical examination for 230 Marks.

The chances of a correct diagnosis are the best possible and the doctor treating the patient will be able to deliver his verdict without wasting any further time.

The examination centre in Berlin has been set up with three million Marks capital and is the first centre of this type to be set up by a private firm. Further centres are planned in West Germany.

The centre has a medical and an administrative director, seven female medical assistants or laboratory workers, computer technicians and a clerical staff. A number of doctors are expected to join the centre soon as partners.

Otto Tappen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 July 1971)

Electrode measuring traces causes of heart disease

Scientists have chalked up a new success in the worldwide battle against strokes and fatal heart attacks by developing a new medical measuring process involving the use of electrodes.

Electrodes are the conductors through which electricity enters or leaves an electrolyte or gas with the help on ions.

It would be a great success if in the near future international medicine could help develop arteriosclerosis research further.

Arteriosclerosis often causes strokes and heart attacks and is the number one killer in affluent countries.

Seventy scientists from both Europe and overseas recently met at the Max Planck Institute for Industrial Physiology in Dortmund to discuss ways in which to develop the electrode measuring procedure, which can be used in other fields apart from arteriosclerosis research.

Professor Dietrich W. Lübbers and the rest of the staff at the Dortmund Max Planck Institute have prepared the way for the use of electrodes in medicine.

Lübbers stated that electrodes made of precious metals could accurately measure the circulation, and consequently circulatory defects, even in extremely tiny sections of tissue.

The patient is given hydrogen to breathe or else the substance is injected straight into the blood stream. The electrodes are inserted by means of a catheter and register the time it takes for the hydrogen-enriched blood to circulate through the sections of tissue being studied. The results are then fed into a computer.

When this procedure has been developed to such a stage that laboratory experiments give way to wide usage in medical research, doctors will have finally taken a great step forward in the fight against arteriosclerosis.

With the unusually accurate measurements of blood circulation they may be able to trace the causes of heart attacks, which would be an important advance in the prevention of this widespread complaint.

Electrode measuring procedure will be of unforeseen importance in other branches of medicine as well. If the electrodes are made to react to oxygen for example, the organism's oxygen supply could be measured far more quickly than was the case previously.

That could be a life-saver during births and difficult operations where both accuracy and the time factor are of decisive importance.

If doctors believe that the child's oxygen supply could be endangered in the critical stages of the birth, all they need do is fit electrodes on its head while still in the womb.

Doctors can observe developments throughout the period of the birth and immediately afterwards and take quick action if necessary. Too much oxygen would lead to blindness and too little would cause brain damage.

Experts believe that no large-scale operations will take place without the aid of electrode measuring procedure in ten years time.

During organ transplants or operations on accident victims doctors will be able to keep a continuous check on whether the patient's oxygen supply and circulation is normal.

Christoph Luetgert

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 30 July 1971)

■ FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

Floating Mark has not cured economic ills

Something that no one would have predicted when the Mark was floated has happened. The rate for the dollar has fallen below the 3.40 Mark-level.

Most experts predicted that parity of the dollar would swing around the 3.50 Mark level and its lowest limit would be 3.45 or perhaps just possibly 3.40.

But in the past few days the dollar has lost value virtually by the hour – at least value expressed in Marks.

This latest bout of weakness for the dollar came as a result of discussions about the possibility of re-fixing currency parities.

International currency speculators "want out" of the dollar, especially as a revaluation of other currencies would also mean their making losses.

At any rate the paths along which speculators can flee from the dollar are becoming more difficult to find. Following the lead of France Switzerland has now also taken administrative defensive measures against the flood of dollars, although in a milder form.

The main loser of the new dollar crisis is precisely the country that thought it had protected itself from all the vagaries of the currency speculators by floating its currency, namely the Federal Republic.

Indeed floating does protect this country perfectly from a flood of "hot money" from abroad, but the price that has to be paid for this is a steadily declining exchange rate for the dollar and all other currencies except the Dutch guilder which is floating along with the Mark.

Thus the increasing weakness of the dollar means a steadily increasing revaluation of the Mark, which sooner or later must lead to serious difficulties for this country's exporting businesses.

It is no secret that the Economic Affairs cum Finance Minister Karl Schiller was not happy with the policies pursued by the Bundesbank at first.

Professor Schiller would have been much happier to see far greater pressure applied to the dollar exchange rate back in May.

But now the "Super Minister" must be a little anxious about his own courage. The economic cycle is moving through a decidedly depressive phase and if the effect of this virtual revaluation of the Mark is pushed too far, losing this country important export trade and cutting back profits, it could in the end mean the Federal Republic plunging into recession.

Thus Bonn finds itself caught on the horns of a dilemma. If the government allows the exchange value of the dollar to fall still further there is the danger that we shall end in a slump.

But if the government asks the Bundesbank to intervene and support the dollar then thousands upon thousands of millions of speculative dollars will come flooding into this country.

The more other countries take administrative steps to protect themselves against a flood of hot dollars the greater the inroads that the dollar will make into the still "open" Mark.

The question is whether in the end Professor Schiller will have to take administrative defence steps himself, even though he has rejected such moves in the past as unnecessary "meddling" in economic affairs.

One thing that is clear after three months of the floating Mark; freeing the rate of exchange has not proved a panacea for economic ills.

Diether Stolze
(Die Zeit, 13 August 1971)

Schiller clamps down on cheap foreign loans

It will be more expensive in future for West German companies to obtain credit abroad, as a result of a decision taken by the Cabinet in Bonn recently.

This states that the experts at the Economic Affairs and Finance Ministry will draft a bill in the next few weeks that will be approved by the Cabinet immediately after the Bundestag summer recess and which will then be introduced to the Bundestag.

This draft bill is the work of Karl Schiller the Minister responsible for both Economic Affairs and Finance. It works on the principle that any company wishing to take out a loan with a foreign finance house must at the same time deposit a certain sum with the Bundesbank in Frankfurt on which no interest will be paid.

In this way the provision of capital for industrial concerns when the economic situation is difficult will be tied in with the means at the disposal of the economy. The level of foreign loans affected and the level of the money to be put on ice will be decided at a number of conferences to decide the make-up of the draft bill.

Informed circles have stated that the levels of foreign loans to be affected will "probably be way over the 100,000 Mark-level."

Officials in Bonn have stated that this so-called Deposit Legislation will not be just a temporary measure applying to the present economic situation. It is far more a matter of a general enabling legislation, with individual conditions that can be altered whenever necessary by the degree to which the economic situation at that time warrants it.

But it is generally regarded as certain that the bill will become law in the autumn, backdated to 21 July, the day on which the Cabinet made the basic decision.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 July 1971)

No East Bloc trade boom

Conservative forecasts state that the current business year will not bring the expected boom in trade with countries with State-controlled economies after all. In the first quarter of 1971 the volume of trading between the Federal Republic and countries of the communist East increased by only 49 million Marks compared with the same period of 1970. The total reached 2,379 million Marks.

Trade with individual countries and the overall export and import trends developed along vastly different lines.

Those in the know have suggested that this was due to the efforts of the countries with State-controlled economies to work their way towards a more healthy balance of payments. But in trade with Red China, Albania and Bulgaria imports as well as exports dropped.

However, both imports and exports to and from Czechoslovakia and Hungary improved. Now as ever the main East Bloc trade partner for the Federal Republic is the USSR, but Soviet exports to this country were 48 million Marks lower, while the USSR purchased an extra twelve million Marks-worth of goods.

But the volume of trade in the period in question was 745 million Marks, 36 million Marks down on the corresponding

NEUE Hannoversche Presse

period of last year. In overall trade with the East Bloc the Federal Republic achieved an export surplus of 310 million Marks, which was only nineteen million Marks higher than in the corresponding period of 1970.

Now the machine-building industry and car supplies firms are hoping for a boost in trade with the East Bloc. It is planned to hold an exhibition for the experts on technical matters involved in the testing and repair of motor cars in Moscow in May 1973.

In the spring of next year 150 German manufacturers of machine tools will exhibit their products in Moscow.

Quite independently of this AEG recently received a contract for the supply of an induction plant for the treatment of car crankshafts and the machinery manufacturer Künkel, Wagner & Co has been contracted to supply six forming machines for the manufacture of car parts. This company has already had experience of delivering parts to the Soviet Union.

Gert Tigges
(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 12 August 1971)

Swiss tax oasis has been effectively dried up

Switzerland is no longer a tax haven for West Germans. From next year the Federal Republic taxman will be able to get to grips with 10,000 "letterbox" firms in Switzerland which are really covers for German companies. Even in Ticino these German exiles will not be able to escape their dues.

On 11 August the new double taxation arrangement with Switzerland was signed at the Foreign Office in Bonn.

When the new agreement, replacing one that has been in force for thirty years, comes into force on 1 January 1972 manipulation of the tax differentials between Switzerland and West Germany will be largely impossible.

* Naturalised persons with two domiciles, one in Switzerland the other in West Germany, will in future have to pay the full rate of German tax. The taxes levied by the Swiss, which are mostly minimal, will be taken into consideration.

* Anyone who sets up shop permanently in Switzerland will still have to pay full Federal Republic taxes for five years after moving.

* The fact that a firm has two headquarters will no longer have any effect for tax purposes. Companies based in Düsseldorf and Berne will have to pay the full rate of West German taxes.

* The basic idea will be that from 1972 onwards companies will be taxed in the country in which their production plant is based. They will not be taxed at the point at which their goods are handled or at the – often fictitious – head office of their administration.

This agreement means that for example West German subsidiaries of Swiss parent companies will have to submit their profits to the twenty-five per-cent West German profits tax if the proportion is a minimum of twenty per cent.

In addition to this the approximately ten thousand letterbox firms in Switzerland will be caught in the web. These are generally speaking nothing more than an address in Switzerland, often that of a lawyer.

According to a report drawn up in Bonn about fifteen thousand people in the Federal Republic have "stashed away profits" in Switzerland and a further five thousand people from this country moved across the border.

In "secret banks" about ten thousand million Marks have been deposited since 1950 according to reliable estimates.

This sum corresponds approximately to the amount spent last year by Bonn on road-building, housing promotional schemes and child welfare.

Gert Tigges
(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 12 August 1971)

France's limited floating franc to stem dollar tide

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Herr Hankel, the head of one of the departments in the Bonn Ministry for Economic Affairs and Finance, called the French defence mechanisms against the speculative influx of dollars to the French capital market "a step [illegible] forward in the direction of [illegible] solution to the dollar problem" in an interview with the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

He stated that in his opinion the [illegible] of speculation in the French franc [illegible] not at all surprising. This had been coming for a long time, he continued, because the French franc had once again become one of the most stable currencies in Europe.

Herr Hankel also pointed out that the present economic developments in France had given the lie to those critics who had considered that the "currency talk" on the part of the Bonn government and its plea for a floating of the Mark in the joint report of the four most important economic research institutes exclusively responsible for speculation on the Mark.

The Bank of France had allowed French trading banks to buy foreign exchange only if this were essential for business, but not for speculative purposes nor for any other reason.

"We shall be interested to see what success the French authorities have with their experiment," Herr Hankel said. [illegible] considered the present moment too early to judge more closely the effectiveness of this measure.

His judgment of this move put it midway between the market split in Belgium and the floating of the Mark in the Federal Republic.

In this context Herr Hankel stressed that the division into regular dollar purchases and those that have to be paid back must in time lead to a kind of black market for the quantities of dollars that have not been bought up.

This market would lie exactly in the midst of the market split that is not wanted by France, following the Belgian pattern and the West German method, which, likewise has been rejected.

"It would be like a kind of limited floating for limited amounts of dollars," Herr Hankel explained.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 August 1971)

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

Survey frankly investigates foreign workers' integration problems

No question could be more easily answered, it would seem, than to ask why *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) come to West Germany. The results of a survey conducted among foreign workers in this country indicate that it is not only "to work and earn money" but also uncomprehended motives have urged these people to "flee" abroad.

The survey, which was started in 1966, was commissioned by the social affairs office in Cologne and the Federal Republic society for social-analytical studies, also in Cologne.

This survey differs from others in that it takes into consideration not only economic pressures but also psychological factors. Individual problems and social factors were considered not as opposing, but as complementary forces.

After studying the hidden motives that lie behind foreign workers' decisions to go abroad to work it was obvious that there is a kind of person who has a natural bent to "travel abroad". These people are fleeing their own personal dissatisfactions, a sphere where their powerlessness and inadequacies are underlined.

1970 – Three million foreign workers in the Federal Republic

3 million · 2.4 million · 1.9 million · 1968 · 1969 · 1970

In percentages: 19 Italians, 17 Yugoslavs, 16 Turks, 12 Greeks, 8 Spaniards, 5 Austrians, 4 Dutch

In percentages: 56 Men, 29 Women, 15 Children

The father was considered to be a failure unable to improve the family's social conditions. The son tries to be a stronger father to the family, but he is denied this. The feelings of gilt that are related back to this require repentence by means of voluntary separation from the family and the sacrifices this entails.

Frankfurter Rundschau

From this it follows that emigration is an act of self-punishment, albeit with the ulterior motive of returning to the family a successful and respected man.

The frustrations of their new milieu are endured as the price to be paid on the one hand as a "victim of circumstances", on the other hand they strengthen the feelings of inadequacy that are often manifested in forms of physical illnesses such as depressions and aggressions.

But ideas of returning home are usually permeated with factors that arise in the country to which these people "flee". The foreign worker is faced with the problem of whether he can integrate himself in his new surroundings and if so how.

Three ways of integration are possible: Firstly, total assimilation of the foreign worker into his new surroundings.

Then when both parties involved, the local people and the newcomer, the stranger, alter themselves as little as possible. This is the solution that is brought about as a result of the ghettos of the Middle Ages or a fenced-off barracks.

Finally there is the situation when the two parties influence each other. This is probably the most satisfactory of all, similar to a successful marriage. This method of living together brings with it the greatest degree of stability.

The authors of this survey do not conceal their conviction that the last solution is not only the most humane but also the most sensible when considering economic factors. However, it is the most difficult solution to achieve.

The attitude of the German side to this integration is one of the main barriers. The German population wants to simply "use but have nothing to do with" the foreign workers. At the back of this attitude is the memory of forced labour introduced by the Third Reich. This sense of guilt below the surface burdens the relationship to the foreign workers.

There are no official statistical reports dealing with this grim chapter. In 1962 the word used to describe these workers was officially changed from *Fremdarbeiter* (alien workers) to *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers). This is obviously a manifestation of these feelings of guilt.

The survey also disclosed that foreign workers are considered "stratum below the lower strata", a factor that had long been suspected by sociologists. Through their mere existence the selfconfidence of other social groups is given a lift, above all the selfconfidence of German labourers. Automatically they move up a place on the social scale.

Significantly those members of social groups who have not noticeably acquired any social preferment from foreign workers are not so contemptuous of foreign workers as the labourers. A more tolerant way of thinking is apparent on the job than in private life. On the production line the foreign worker has better prospects of equal treatment than outside the factory or office, where anxiety over sexual competition clouds the relationship.

Most Germans are against the social integration of foreign workers – but do the foreign workers want integration? Are they adjusted to a stay of long duration in this country? Do they want to have contact with the people of this country, and to this end are they prepared to learn German? Do they want to bring their families with them to West Germany, and are they prepared to have their children go to German schools and mix with German children?

Karl Bingemer, Edeltraud Meistermann-Seeger and Edgar Neubert (editors) *Leben als Gastarbeiter – Geglückte und mißglückte Integration* (Life as a foreign worker – successful and unsuccessful integration), Westdeutscher Verlag, Cologne and Opladen, 1970. 235 pp. Hardback 35 Marks, paperback 28 Marks.

In consideration of these questions the survey revealed that among the various national groups in this country as foreign workers most wanted to keep themselves to themselves. A difference proved to be essential.

For instance, Greeks who are married bring their family with them to this country. But the Turks do not. The result is that the Greeks have a less tension-ridden, aggression-ridden relationship with their German neighbours than is usual among other nationalities working in this country.

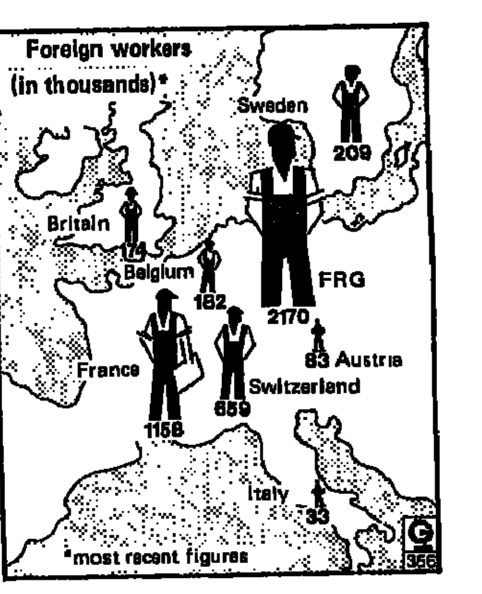
The Turks on the other hand who come to Germany with so many hopes and expectations find themselves misunderstood and rejected. Because they have little chance of making contact with those around them they encounter difficulties that often cause emotional disturbances and catastrophic outbreaks.

It is well known that many foreign workers refuse to learn German. They fear that by so doing they will "betray" their home background and their plans to return home. They fear that they will be absorbed into their new surroundings.

The survey recommends that there should be some kind of relationship between their language courses and professional qualifications: the latter is of value and related to social advancement not only in Germany but also when they return home.

For foreign workers to have higher qualifications corresponds to the interests of the West German economy, whose motives and aims were equally analysed.

In the authors' view this aspect was



laden with less emotion than in the more personal aspects and most people expected that foreign workers would be in Germany for a long time to come.

It was clear during the recession of 1966 that foreign workers served as a reserve labour force in this country. By releasing foreign workers from jobs when the demands on labour became too intense German workers did not feel the effect of the depression and political disturbances were avoided.

Capital for schools and homes is of particular interest. In questions of this sort officials have to show their colours. The have to show if they have in mind long-term coexistence. Legislators have to decide if it would be a good idea to have a central school for the children of foreign workers or if it would not be better for them to be taught alongside German children.

Foreign workers who have been questioned on this point are themselves not sure what should be done for the best. For it is true to say that the integration of their children into West German society would go a long way towards helping the children's parents to be integrated.

It is true that the survey was limited to Cologne, but after taking into considerations conditions in other parts of the Federal Republic the survey basically holds good for everywhere.

All officials and people outside oficial life, who have anything to do with foreign workers should be obliged to read this book.

Ingeborg Gerlach
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 August 1971)

Information booklet for foreign workers to be published

WELT DER ARBEIT

An information booklet is to be prepared by the standing conference of Federal state education ministers concerning educational opportunities in this country for the children of foreign workers.

The booklet will enable families contemplating coming to West Germany to make decisions concerning education in this country before they leave home.

The standing conference wishes to impress on foreign workers that according to German law children must attend school if the parents are working in this country.

The basic outlines of the booklet have already been drawn up.

(Welt der Arbeit, 30 July 1971)

■ AVIATION

Otto Lilienthal – Germany's pioneer flyer

Frankfurter Allgemeine

What with worries about crowded air corridors on the one hand, not to mention congested airports, and the fight against noise and atmospheric pollution on the other the much-vaunted eternal dream of flight seems to have descended to the level of a necessary evil.

Yet the congenial idyll, the original form of manned flight, is still to be found in gliding. The unsuspecting pedestrian is surprised by the negligible noise of the glider. It is not even accompanied by the hum associated with high-tension wire strung from pylon to pylon.

Glider pilots reckon their sport to be the very essence of aviation. Both kinds, commercial and military powered flight and gliding, date back to experiments conducted by Otto Lilienthal, who was killed during flight trials seventy-five years ago on 9 August 1896.

For more than a century aviators tried in vain to power and steer gas-filled balloons. Heavier than air flight, as they called it, was felt to be a doubtful proposition.

In 1808 a Viennese watchmaker, Jakob Degen, built a flying machine with wings seven metres long, roughly 24 feet each. Muscle power was designed to be sufficient to get the machine airborne.

To be on the safe side the inventor attached a hydrogen-filled balloon between the beating wings. Without it the contraption would never have left the ground.

A few years later Josef Berblinger, nicknamed the Tailor of Ulm and a laughing stock among his contemporaries, tried to follow in Degen's footsteps.

On 30 May 1811 he attempted to glide from a tall scaffolding by means of a flying machine fitted with beating wings. One wing broke and he made a rapid descent into the Danube.

In 1872 an expert commission came to the conclusion that the relationship between human muscle-power and weight was so unfavourable that Man would never be able to make a contraption of this kind fly solely be means of his own physical resources.

Unfortunately this expert opinion, subsequently confirmed in experiments on a number of occasions, was misunderstood to mean that heavier than air flight would never be a viable prospect.

Otto Lilienthal, born on 23 May 1848 in Anklam, Mecklenburg, thus had little in the way of previous work to go by when he set about studying the problems of manned heavier than air flight together with his brother Gustav, eighteen months his junior.

The Lilienthal brothers had studied bird flight in their youth, particularly the take-off and gliding of storks. They had conducted experiments and tried to solve the problem in a small way.

This, however, was of little use as long as fundamental issues were not even clearly stated. As long as this was the case experimental answers could not be sought.

Atmospheric resistance, the relationship between resistance and upwinds and stabilisation of flight were to prove the key concepts as the Lilienthals made gradual progress.

Otto became an engineer, Gustav an architect and their joint earnings went towards research into the problems of aviation.

In the years following the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 Otto Lilienthal invented a winding-tube steam boiler and set up a mechanical engineering firm.

His earnings and those of his brother Gustav, also a successful inventor, were ploughed into experimental work on aviation.

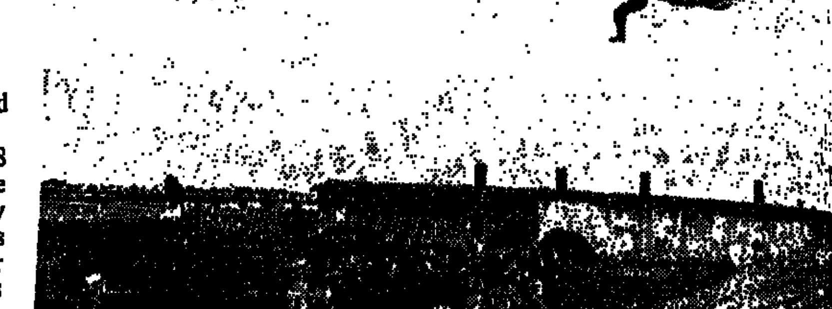
In 1873 Otto Lilienthal discovered the advantage of curved wings over flat ones. They provide more uplift and thickening the front edge of the wing seemed to be distinctly beneficial, though neither of the brothers could see why this should be the case.

No matter: ever since then wing cross-sections have continued with this design.

Business difficulties interrupted their work repetedly for years on end. The recession that followed the initial boom after the establishment of the Reich was so catastrophic for Gustav that he had to emigrate to Australia.

A few years later he returned to persevere with their joint labours. Brother Otto started writing. In 1889 his famous work, "Bird Flight as the Basis of the Art of Flying," appeared.

Then, at long last, tests began during which Otto succeeded in getting off the ground. To begin with his flying machines jumped around the back garden. Then, in 1891, he risked jumps from a height of five metres, gliding distances of up to thirty metres.



Otto Lilienthal during a test flight in 1894 (Photo: Ullstein)

A hill near Berlin served as a runway-cum-ramp. His aircraft boasted batlike wings based on a framework of willow twigs. The pilot hung suspended from them by his arms.

Step by step Otto Lilienthal built increasingly larger flying machines, including double-deckers. The hill, raised by embankment to a height of fifteen metres, grew too small.

He moved to Rhinow where from a height of twenty metres he succeeded in gliding distances of between 200 and 400 metres.

In 1896 he was in the process of preparing for power-assisted flight. He first tried out the aircraft without an engine, as ever progressing step by step. On 9 August he planned to test the joystick.

Treacherous winds made the work more difficult. One gust sent him flying, in the wrong direction, alas, for he crashed and broke his backbone.

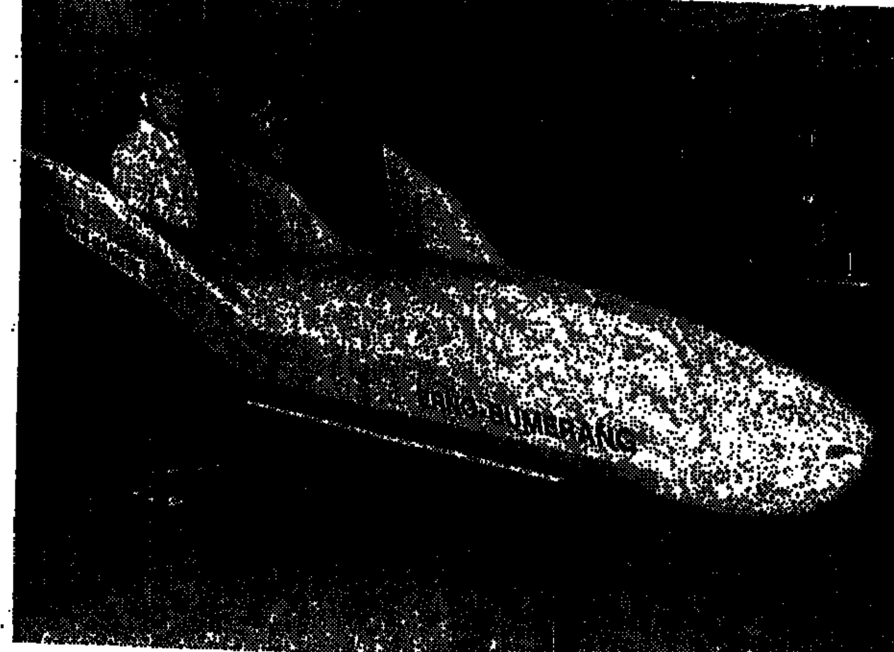
Brother Gustav did not persevere with the trials following Otto's death. He worked instead on beating-wing aircraft and continued to do so until his death in 1933, trying faithfully to imitate a bird in flight.

But developments had long since taken a different course. The Wright brothers were, to begin with, the only inventors to recognise the potential of Otto Lilienthal's work.

His spiritual heirs continue to this day to glide noiselessly through the air in primeval fashion, though.

Jürgen Ostermeyer
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 August 1971)

Boomerang projectile





This 200 kg projectile ten foot long and six feet across is the Boomerang, part of the post-Apollo space programme under development by Erno, a subsidiary of VFW-Fokker of Bremen. It recently underwent initial flight trials near Heligoland, being despatched at an altitude of 10,000 feet from the tail of a Bundeswehr Transall transport plane and reaching a speed little short of the speed of sound before parachutes checked its flight and prepared for the splash-down. Trials of a 400kg remote-controlled projectile are scheduled for the end of September but the Boomerang will eventually be the second, booster stage of a space shuttle and the size of a Boeing 707. Defence Minister Helmut Schmidt has inspected the project at Hohn airfield, near Rendsburg. (Photo: dpa)

Marburg engineer develops new air pollution apparatus

Frankfurter Rundschau

In the course of several years research undertaken in conjunct[ion] with Marburg University scientific [...] Adolf Reuter, a Marburg engineer, [has] developed a new device likely to [make a] considerable contribution toward[s the] solution of a problem related to envi[ron]mental protection.

Herr Reuter recently demonstrated in his own laboratory the way in which his KSL 70 atmospheric bacillus collector works. Patent rights have already been granted by the Patent Office in Munich.

The device has already, for that matter, been subjected to successful trials in the country and abroad, both in a number [of] laboratories and on the high seas.

It functions with the aid of centrifug[al] force and specially designed ventilat[or] blades for intake of the air to be tested which is channelled at the inner surface of a drum coated with a special substance.

Bacteria and viruses in the air are deposited on the layer of this substance and there germinate. After a long enough incubation period in the drum the micro-organisms can then be identified, counted and distinguished.

If the inside of the drum is coated with another substance the radioactive contamination of the atmosphere can be measured and tailor-made co[unter] measures taken.

Another procedure demonstrated by Adolf Reuter after a moment's work [o]n the KSL 70 enables exact measurement of the amount of air passing through the device. In this way the absolute den[sity] of contamination in a specific volume of air can be determined.

Operating the device is claimed to be child's play. It also needs no additional power source. Evaluation of micro-organismus and differentiation between them is undertaken by bacteriologists.

The KSL 70, Reuter noted, can be put through its paces in laboratories in which bacteria-free products are manufactured. It may also become an important part of the hygiene precautions in operati[ng] theatres and hospital wards.

Werner Mascos
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 August 1971)

AUTOMOBILES

[O]ne in four cars sold in FRG is of foreign manufacture



DIE ZEIT

[M]ade in West Germany is a guarantee of good workmanship, all over the [wor]ld. At home motorists are increasingly [dissa]tisfied with the result. So far this [ye]ar one new car in four has been of [fo]reign manufacture.

In the first six months of 1971 roughly [1.]2 million cars were sold to their first [ow]ner. A little over 300,000 of them were imports.

There seems to be no way of halting the triumphal progress of foreign cars. By the end of the year they are certain to account for 26 per cent of the market and provided importers keep up their present pace their market share could be thirty per cent in three years' time.

Already the home market is unique in the attraction exercised by imported models. There is not a major motor manufacturing country in the world in which foreign cars are rated so highly by the average motorist.

The latest spate of profits made by the foreigners came as something of a surprise at what must surely be the tail-end of the longest boom in the history of the motor industry in this country.

Car factories have been working at full capacity for three and a half years. Last year special shifts and overtime working went towards production figures that the management feel can only be described as a desperate attempt to meet demand.

During the first two years of the boom imports did well but not extraordinarily so. Their share of the market remained constant at just over twenty per cent.

In the first six months of 1970 foreign manufacturers' sales growth rates far outdid those of domestic manufacturers, however. Over last year as a whole sales of home-produced cars increased by 11.5 per cent; those of imported cars increased by 22.5 per cent.

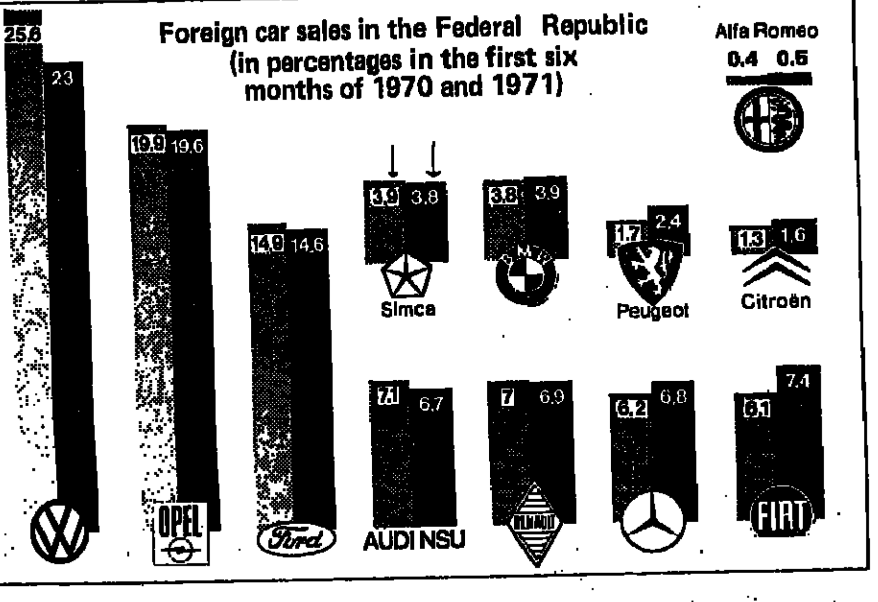
In the first six months of this year the gap has continued to increase. Sales of cars manufactured in this country registered an increase of 4.6 per cent. Sales of imported cars rose by 20.9 per cent.

This latest success for the foreigners is a genuine surprise. In the autumn of 1970 domestic manufacturers unveiled a range of models for 1971 that was more varied than has ever before been the case.

Volkswagen unveiled the K 70 and a new generation of Beetles. Ford introduced a brand new range of Taunus saloons. Opel too launched new models in the shape of the Manta and the Ascona.

Importers had only two newcomers to offer, the Citroën GS and the Renault R 6, yet their old stagers continued to find buyers.

There are two topical reasons why imported cars have proved such a success at this juncture. At various stages domestic manufacturers encountered delivery difficulties. At the same time foreign manufacturers suddenly began to pay more attention to the West German market.



For months Fiat were unable to send enough cars to this country because of labour trouble in Turin. The situation has now returned to normal and in the first six months of this year the Italians promptly outsold their old rivals Renault of France.

For many years Peugeot neglected the West German market. "Only now are we gathering the harvest of years of preparation," Georg Merlecker of Peugeot Deutschland comments.

Since Peugeot have been more generous in their deliveries from France Peugeots have headed the list for sales growth rate, having sold roughly fifty per cent more cars than last year.

Two other reasons are of even greater importance for the success of imported cars, though. For one they used to have a reputation for dodgy engineering and poor quality. Also, their main target is unquestionably the small car market, a category that is pretty well neglected by domestic manufacturers.

Foreign cars evidently no longer have such a bad reputation for quality. It is for that matter, a fact that quality is steadily growing more uniform as mass production methods are adopted all over the world.

Daimler-Benz, for instance, is nowadays hard put to defend its reputation of manufacturing above-average vehicles in respect of quality (and making buyers pay for the privilege).

Buyers of cars with an engine capacity of 1,000 cc or less are wasting their time worrying about quality anyway. They have no alternative but to choose between Renault, Citroën, Fiat and its subsidiaries Autobianchi and Seat, the British Leyland Mini and the Dutch Daf.

Domestic manufacturers have only one model to offer in this category the NSU Prinz 4, which for years has lived a fairly hole-and-corner existence in this country. Oddly enough 61,000 Prinzes, ten times the domestic figure, were sold in Italy in 1969.

The picture does not look much rosier in the 1,000 to 1,200 cc category. The Ford 12 M and 1,200-cc Volkswagen Beetle are no longer marketed. The Ford Escort and Opel Kadett ranges are tending towards more powerful engines and sales of both are on the decline.

NSU is the third loser in this sector of the market. The winner is undoubtedly Fiat, the Fiat 128 accounting for forty per cent of Fiat's West German sales. Then there is the Simca, two versions of which are in this engine range, and the small Peugeot.

The small car market is noticeably neglected by domestic manufacturers. The Kadett and the Escort, the latest domestic products in the field, have been on the market for several years. The Italians and the French are almost always superior in technological concept, space and price.

The Volkswagen Beetle, which is traditionally assigned to this section of the market, remains the best seller but its classification is a little dubious.

To look at the Beetle remains the small car it always was. In cubic capacity and price it is no longer a bona fide member of the small car category.

The current debate about car safety and clean exhausts has provided an argument for abandoning this section of the market. It is generally easier and less expensive to manufacture a safe and "clean" large car than to plough money into research and development of smaller models.

Another argument altogether probably decided the issue, though. The larger the car the greater the profit margin. Yet the 1,600 to 1,900 cc category of family saloons is so fiercely contested by all manufacturers that profit margins tend to be slender in this category too.

Even so Volkswagen can be expected in the none too distant future to risk a venture into the small car market. The new model may not be stated to be the successor to the Beetle but that is what it will in effect be.

For nearly twenty years the 1,200-cc Beetle reigned supreme. The new Volkswagen will be designed as the inexpensive West German car of the future.

This will be a reversal of roles for the country's major manufacturer. For years Volkswagen have been beating a retreat from the small car market. They will now be going back into the fray.

Rolf Dickhof
(Die Zeit, 13 August 1971)

Car pollution

The 1.2 million motor vehicles registered last year in the Ruhr emit over a period of twelve months 700,000 tons of carbon monoxide, 100,000 tons of hydrocarbons, 80,000 tons of nitrous oxides, 1,200 tons of suspended particles and 600 tons of lead in organic and anorganic compounds.

These figures were recently released by the garbage information and advisory centre of the Ruhr regional association in Essen.

The Ruhr accounts for eighty per cent of the country's coalmines and cokeries, seventy per cent of the steel industry, twenty-five per cent of basic chemicals and eighteen per cent of petroleum refineries. (Die Welt, 3 August 1971)

Road deaths up

In the first five months of this year there was a further increase in the number of road deaths. According to the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden 6,646 people were killed in traffic accidents between 1 January and 1 June.

In the corresponding period last year 6,420 road deaths occurred. The overall number of accidents reported was 520,745. There were 191,630 injuries in the process. (Die Welt, 31 July 1971)

■ HOUSING

Homes of the future built of foam plastic

The world's first floating house built of plastic materials bobs gently up and down on the gleaming blue water of a small pool. It is shaped like two dark green cones and is fixed to the bank by ropes.

The creator of this house, Professor Rudolf Doernach, proudly invites people to slip into his brain child with a wave of the hand.

The way in is through a fringed bull's eye. Inside the visitor sees dim lighting and yellow walls. There is soft matting under foot and this tempts the visitor to take off his shoes.

The furniture is sacks made to conform to the shape of the body when you sit in them. So take a seat and listen to the professor, the "pope of plastic", who considers his creation, which he has called the *Bio-Dom*, the predessessor of great cities built for leisure on the blue waters of the Mediterranean, a real futuristic dream.

It took only a week for four students from Stuttgart Technical Academy to build up the Bio-Dom according to Professor Doernach's plans.

This construction made of light foam material is layered and stuck together and has been built for the first international plastics exhibition to be held in Lüdenscheid in the Sauerland.

The professor, who developed the first house made of plastics for the Bonn government as long ago as 1958, plans that the man of the future with plenty of leisure time to spare will be able to create his own plastic holiday house according to his own taste.

Leisure centres such as this would be ideal for the Lagoon in Venice. And Professor Doernach is already developing Hydropolis I for Marseilles.

As Professor Doernach sees it production of these plastics from mineral oils completes the circle back to the creatures from which the oil came.

Plants could be grown for nutritional purposes and in the water algae and plancton which in turn feed fish which are then caught by Man.

In short the Bio-Dom opens up fantastic possibilities for the autarchy of the man with leisure time.

The first generation of plants is now growing on the roof of the Bio-Dom in manure. But the inventor of this construction was disappointed that the organisers of the exhibition only put ordinary flower boxes on the terraced domes.

The Bio-Dom is intended for experimental living at present and is marked off from more stream-lined living units at the exhibition with names such as Rondo and Futuro, which could no longer be described as houses. These are on stilts made of steel tubing floating over Lüdenscheid like flying saucers and entered by a hatch underneath. They seem just as if they had come from another planet.

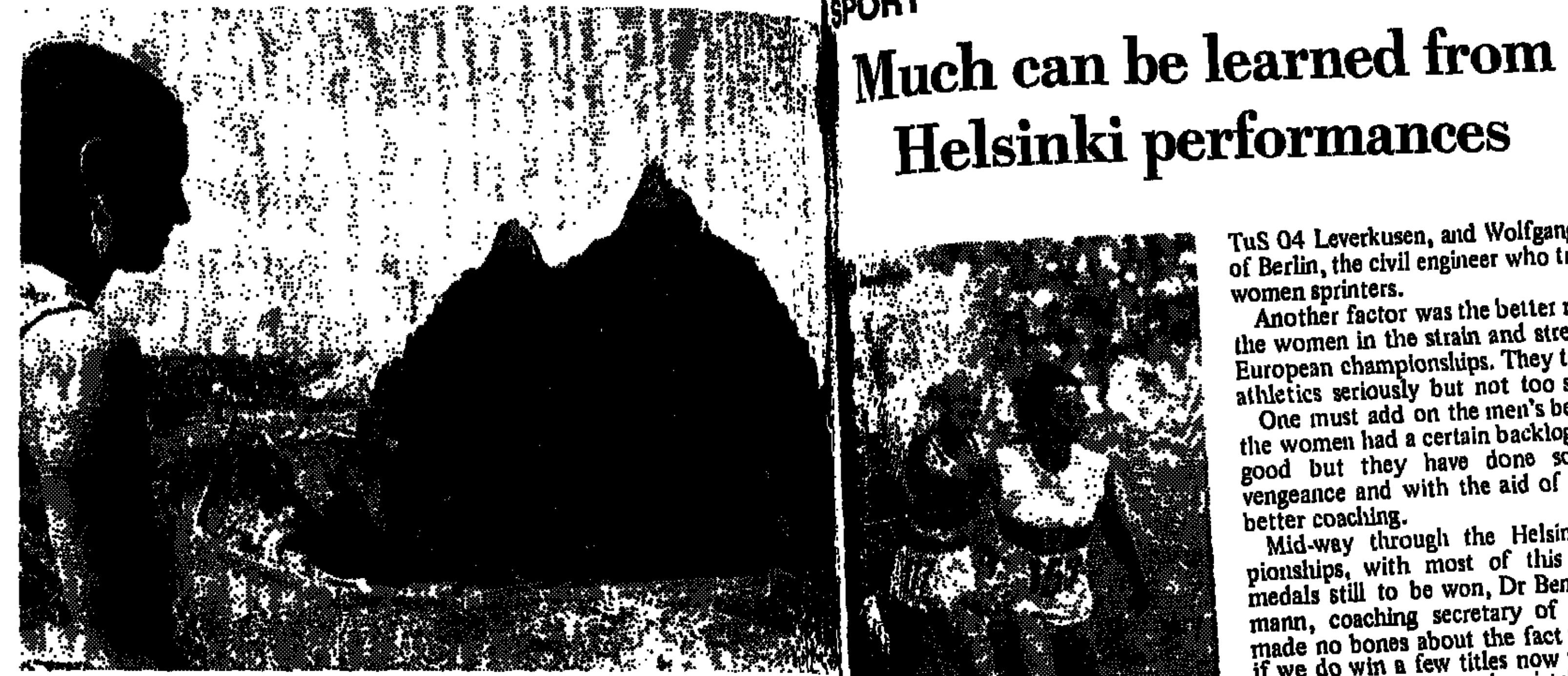
But the Sauerland Leisure and Pleasure Building Design company (Sabag) hopes that this five-year exhibition will help plastic houses to make a breakthrough and that these and more conventional plastic houses will become common as holiday retreats in Germany. They are fully furnished and all that visitors need to bring is underwear, crockery and cutlery.

As far as Professor Doernach and a number of students from Stuttgart's Technical Academy are concerned these futuristic looking constructions are already the products of yesterday.

The student teams are already working on many-sided plastic elements which can be put togehter to form fantastically constructed buildings, totally individual and affording a life to their inhabitants that is far from the ordinary.

They were very pleased that the Lüdenscheid exhibition gave them an opportunity to spread their wings and expand their ideas.

The organisers of the exhibition have already had a flood of applications from people who would like to experiment with living in these futuristic dwellings. Their applications will have to be sifted.



The first house to be built for installation on water shown at the Lüdenscheid exhibition (Photo: Heinz Jürgen Kastner)

During the five years for which this exhibition will run the building authorities who are responsible for checking building methods and the types of material used for their suitability will be able to give the constructions on show in Lüdenscheid a good going-over.

There will be no lack of experiments and seminars involving young people who are interested in building with plastics. Engineer Peter Hübner and his enthusiastic students have built a forest house of plastic foam that hangs among four pines at a height of seven metres above the ground.

Round peep-holes have been sawn in the ochre-coloured walls. Bearded Inventor Hübner says that his "minimal house" that was made of two fluids would be ideal not only as a holiday house but in areas hit by catastrophes and developing countries.

Nearby student groups are active in a giant cube made out of layered blocks of foam plastic. They are hollowing out corners, niches and places to lie and sit in their new dwelling. They are playing like children with their building blocks.

What the strict gentlemen from the official surveying offices will say about these building material no one yet knows. But at least it is certain that the houses in Lüdenscheid are fireproof. One house wall was douced with petrol and a match applied: the petrol burnt, the wall did not.

Friedrich Kassebeer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 August 1971)

Better housing designs for the crippled

In the foreseeable future there will be specially designed houses available for people with physical handicaps, according to the Institute for Town Planning, Housing and Building Societies in Bonn.

Conservative estimates state that there are about four million people in the Federal Republic who are crippled or incapacitated in some other way having lost partly or wholly their powers of moving and working.

The Institute believes that this number is on the increase. Thus the recommendations of the Ministry for Town Planning that there should be special regulations governing the design of houses for the crippled are to be welcomed.

Up till now people whose faculties for movement are impaired have been sadly neglected in housing programms, the Institute said recently. In future housing programmes special attention would be paid to designs suitable for people in wheelchairs.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 July 1971)

Bonn in 1985 will be an architect-designed major city

For months there has been talk of a competition for rebuilding and redesigning the parliament and government offtices in Bonn, including them in a new concept of town planning for the capital. Now the competion has begun.

For the architect who provides the best design for the building of the government offices and their incorporation and integration into the city of Bonn there will be a prize of 80,000 Marks.

In all prizes to a total value of three hundred thousand Marks will be awarded.

Early next year a team consisting of officials of the government, the Federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Bonn will decide on the pattern that will redesign the Federal capital – at first on paper – and which after a period of twenty-two years will form the design of Bonn.

The narrow area of the competition takes in the left-bank part of Bonn and Godesberg North, where most of the government offices are already situated. A part of the opposite bank of the Rhine is also due for inclusion in the re-planning scheme.

Among the aims of the architectural competition is to incorporate a functional design for all the existing government offices and those that have still to be built in the area covered by the competition.

The one exception is the Ministry of Defence which will stay in its present position on the Hardthöhe. Many of the aims expressed by the competition organisers look far further into the future than the requirements of the immediate future demand.

For instance they are urging that the ministries should be grouped together in one complex. That is to say there are no plans for individual ministries.

Twenty-five per cent of the surface area of the new ministries is to be devoted to conference rooms and chambers for group work. On the other hand there are no plans to introduce large open-plan offices in the newly built ministries.

The increase in the amount of work that will be carried out in the future in the ministries, according to estimates, can be gauged by the increase in floor space that is being devoted to the ministry building.

There are twelve ministerial buildings planned to commence operations in 1985 and which will employ 15,000 people. Apart from the large amount of floor space given over to these ministries for normal work there will be fifty-per-cent room for expansion!

Already two ministries are in the building stage.

Particular problems arise for the architects when it comes to providing for living quarters. In the confined space in which they are forced to work there will be something like 38,000 to 40,000 people working by the year 1985. Of these 21,000 will be employed in Federal offices and in the highest national authorities.

The architects must avoid creating "civil service ghettos".

The government's own idea of its future design for living is far removed from the monumental, but calls for a degree of nobility.

Older political traditions such as the Villa Hammerschmidt, the seat of the President, will remain. Likewise the new designs will not mean the end of the Palais Schaumburg and the Bundestag buildings.

A great deal of importance is being attached to those areas where *the powers* that-be come into *contact* with the general public. These are to be given a character that is something of a challenge.

The parliamentary and government areas are not to be made into an area which is *verboten* for ordinary people. The buildings in the government area are to show clearly that "the State apparatus is designed to serve the people and not the people to serve the State".

The new design for the Chancellery which had been decided upon before the competition started, must be brought into the plans of all the architects. Now there are also primary designs for the planning of the Rhine meadows between the parliament area and Godesberg North, an area that never has been developed, which is to be turned into pleasure grounds.

The committee which will be judging the competition has told competitors expressly that they must think in terms of preserving natural beauty and also reminded the architects that the climatic conditions in Bonn are not exceptionally favourable.

This demand that the new buildings should not be detrimental to the Bonn scenery would have disqualified many modern designs, including the *Abgeordnetenhochhaus*, the skyscraper with offices for the members of the Bundestag.

One of the most difficult conditions of the competition involve solving Bonn's traffic problems. The designers have been told that they must shift the emphasis away from private cars to public transport.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 August 1971)

SPORT

Much can be learned from Helsinki performances

Heide Rosendahl, winning the 200-metres in the Pentathlon, just ahead of Burglinde Pollack of the German Democratic Republic.

This country's showing at the European athletics championships in Helsinki was nothing if not sobering. For once *the* statistics are not so boring.

Five *golds*, *seven silver* and five bronze medals confirm *that* this country ranks third in Europe behind the German Democratic Republic (12, 13 and 7) and the Soviet Union (9, 3 and 8).

Only once before has the Federal Republic won more gold medals at a European athletics championships – six at Stockholm in 1958. So far so good.

It is only when one goes into greater detail that the position becomes clearer. Eighteen out of 63 men were eliminated in the first heat as against only three out of 28 women.

Similarly, nineteen out of the 63 men reached the finals in their respective disciplines – and nineteen out of the 28 women. The figures speak for themselves.

Were it not for the women, who brought home eleven out of eighteen *medals*, the balance-sheet of the most important international athletics meeting of the season before the Munich Olympics would have been downright poor.

To them alone does the Amateur Athletics Association owe an escape by the skin of its teeth. There are a number of reasons why the fine showing the women have put up for the past two seasons has continued.

A member of the men's training staff went so far as to say that "the women have the better coaches at the moment." He was not, of course, prepared to mention names.

Let us do so. They are, first and foremost, Gerd Osenberg, head coach of TuS 04 Leverkusen, and Wolfgang Thiele of Berlin, the civil engineer who trains the women sprinters.

Another factor was the better nerves of the women in the strain and stress of the European championships. They take their athletics seriously but not too seriously.

One must add on the men's behalf that the women had a certain backlog to make good but they have done so with a vengeance and with the aid of more and better coaching.

Mid-way through the Helsinki championships, with most of this country's medals still to be won, Dr Benno Wischmann, coaching secretary of the AAA, made no bones about the fact that "even if we do win a few titles now we have to admit that we have made mistakes."

The most serious mistake has been pointed out often enough. This pre-Olympic season has been a sleeping beauty. A number of first-class athletes have simply not been provided with the opportunity of entering major tournaments.

There has been too little of the real thing. Athletes such as Baumgartner, Schwarz, Köhler, Reibert, Ziegler, Jordan and Jellinghaus were noticeably lacking in the toughness that comes only from practice. Training alone is not enough.

More first-rate meetings in this country are urgently needed.

The most serious failure was that of the long-distance men (with the exception of Norpoth and Letzerich) and the hurdles specialists. Falke, Girke, Wagner and Schulten qualified for Helsinki virtually on the strength of one good performance. This again is not enough.

Not that there were no gratifying factors. Four out of five gold medallists (Heide Rosendahl, Ingrid Mickler, Uwe Beyer and the women's relay team) stand a good chance of doing well at the Olympics next year. They came first in disciplines in which Europe rules the roost.



Uwe Beyer, after winning a gold for throwing the hammer in Helsinki



Ingrid Mickler (right) and Elfgard Schittenhelm winners of the 4 x 100 metres relay (Photos: Nordbild)

It depends on the United States whether four of the GDR's gold medallists, Stecher in the 100 metres, Nordwig in the pole vault, Drehmel in the hop, step and jump and Siebeck in the hurdles, pull if off again in Munich.

What is more, a number of athletes who were not expected to do really well until after the Olympics put up a splendid performance at Helsinki. They were Hofmeister, Wellmann, Schulze, Ellenberger, Schenk, Rücker, Eppinger and Inge Helten, the young sprinter who promises to be a really outstanding athlete.

Helsinki must certainly have been an eye-opener for the AAA officials. One can but hope that the right conclusions are reached at the one-week course planned for this autumn.

There was no lack of talent scouts at Helsinki, both from the AAA and from the Federal Commitee on Competitive Sport. Let us hope that they too reach the right conclusions and act accordingly. There has certainly been more than enough talk.

Michael Gernandt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 August 1971)

Olympics' tradition

In the GDR a campaign has been in progress for several weeks to retain the existing Olympic ceremony. As though they were the sole legitimate heirs of Pierre de Coubertin athletes and sporting officials are being called on to affirm that the playing of national anthems and the hoisting of flags is the only conceivable way of honouring victors.

Only the revanchist West Germans, the GDR maintains, want, as part of their overall strategy, to abolish this time-honoured tradition.

Yet on the five occasions *Deutschland über alles* was played at Helsinki television in the GDR either switched off the sound-track or had the commentator talk on regardless of the Haydn melody.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 August 1971)

Interview with August Kirsch, president of the Amateur Athletics Association

Question: How do you rate this country's showing at the European athletics championship in Helsinki?

Kirsch: I am satisfied. We were, when all is said and done, the most successful Western European country. My feeling of satisfaction is based primarily on the fact that hopes of of success at Munich will not now be inordinately high.

At the same time I would like to make special mention of the improbable degree of concentration shown by Ingrid Mickler, Uwe Beyer and Heide Rosendahl who managed to pull the fat out of the fire at the very last moment in their respective finals. I have never seen anything like it.

Question: How do you account for the far better performance of the women in comparison with the men?

Kirsch: Women's athletics is capable of greater development. We realised at an early stage, though not soon enough, that women can withstand far greater strain than used to be considered possible. In this respect we have the edge on most other countries. Besides, women are easier to manage than men.

Question: There were a number of out and out failures in the team, among the long- and high-jumpers, for instance. Why do you think this was the case?

Kirsch: Many of our athletes were too unsure of themselves in the stadium because their coach was no longer there to consult. Coaches will have to make a point of so preparing athletes for the sspecial conditions of tournaments that they themselves are no longer needed on the day.

Question: Helsinki was a preliminary. What conclusions have you reached with next year's Olympics in mind?

Kirsch: Maybe it was a mistake to make attendance at the pre-championship training camp voluntary. We will have to decide whether or not to make training of this kind compulsory in future.

All in all it is now a matter of pruning. The main body of the Olympic team will be a mere fifty strong. Those selected will be given special assistance. They will also have to submit to special checks.

Question: At the European championships in Belgrade in 1962 and Budapest in 1966 the GDR and the USSR between them won fourteen gold medals. At Athens in 1969 they took home twenty golds and in Helsinki they won 21 out of 38 championship titles. Is sport subject to laws of economics, the strong growing ever stronger and the weak ever weaker?

Kirsch: It is not quite as simple as that. The smaller countries, minor countries, let us say, are indeed having an increasingly harder time of it. The statistics indicate in my opinion the superior possibilities open to countries in which sport is state-run and backed up to the hilt by the government.

On the other hand I feel bound to say that the five titles won by this country are the exact measure of the possibilities open to competitive sport in this country.

Günter Deister

(Die Welt, 17 August 1971)

Aden	SA $ 0.05
Afghanistan	Af 10.—
Algeria	DA 0.60
Angola	Esc. 1.—
Argentina	$ m n 45.—
Australia	10 c.
Austria	S 3.—
Belgium	bfr 6.—
Bolivia	$ b 1.50
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35
Bulgaria	Lev 0.05
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Burundi	F. Bu. 10.—
Cambodia	R 4.40
Cameroon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Canada	Can. $ —.20
Ceylon	cR —.60
Chile	Esc. 0.60
Colombia	col $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
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Costa Rica	C 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.60
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.60
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT $ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	5 p
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.80
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	50 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
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Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
Morocco	DM —.65
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	Hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.85
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.60
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 6.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	£ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d